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PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

First published 1933



A SELECTION OF  
GREEK HISTORICAL  
INSCRIPTIONS

TO THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

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SECOND EDITION

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1946

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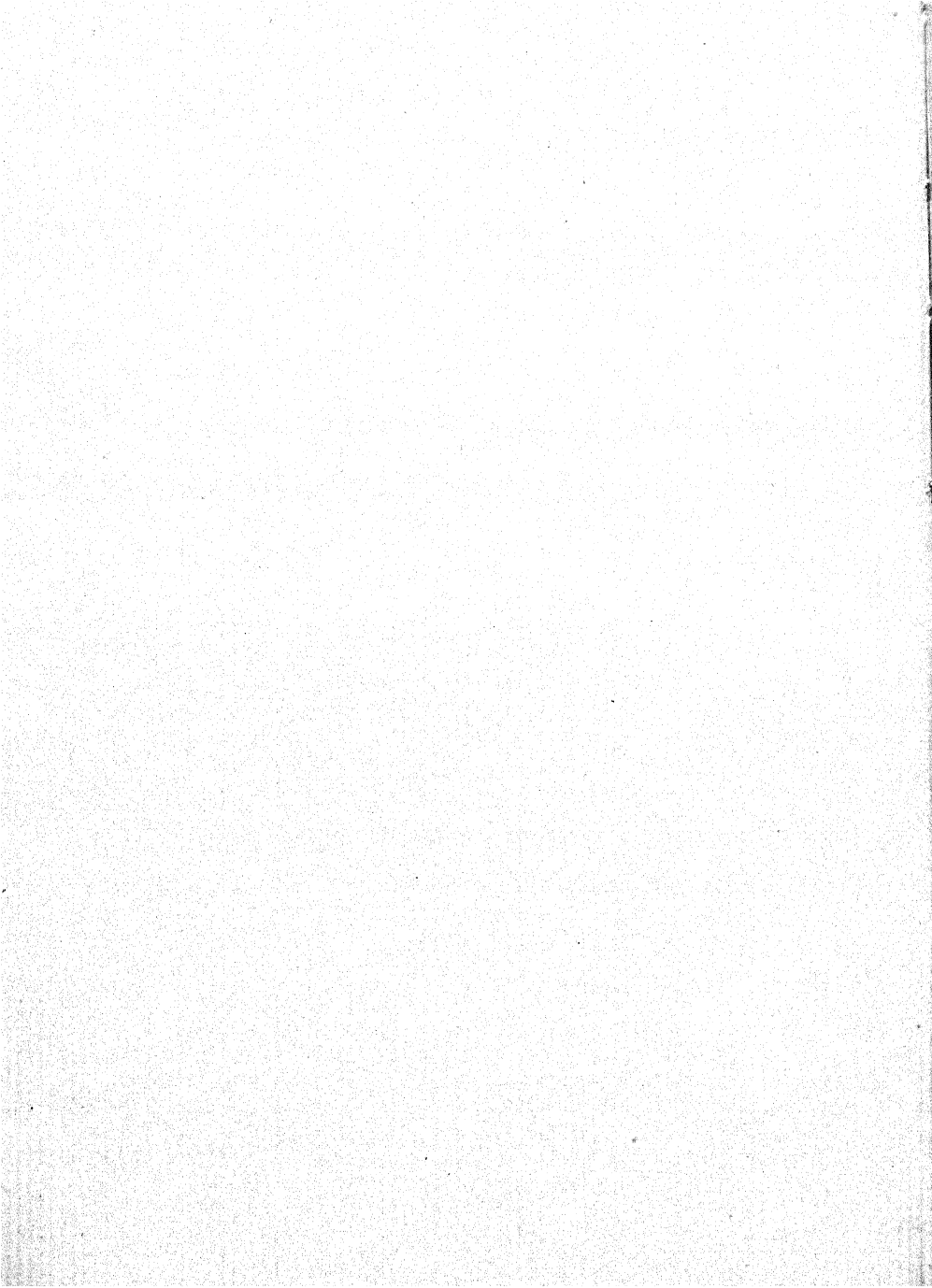
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## PREFATORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE exhaustion of the entire stock of the first edition of this volume has confronted the Delegates of the University Press and myself with a difficult problem. The ideal solution, from some points of view at least, would have been a thoroughgoing revision of the whole book and the addition of some recently discovered inscriptions of historical interest; but this would involve the practical disadvantages of entailing considerable delay and expense, as well as the confusion which is almost bound to arise when references are made now to one and now to another edition of the same work with variant pagination and numeration of the component items. On the other hand, the exhaustion of the book, indicating that there is a continued demand for it, and that presumably it still meets a real need, has proved a decisive argument against merely listing the volume as 'out of print'.

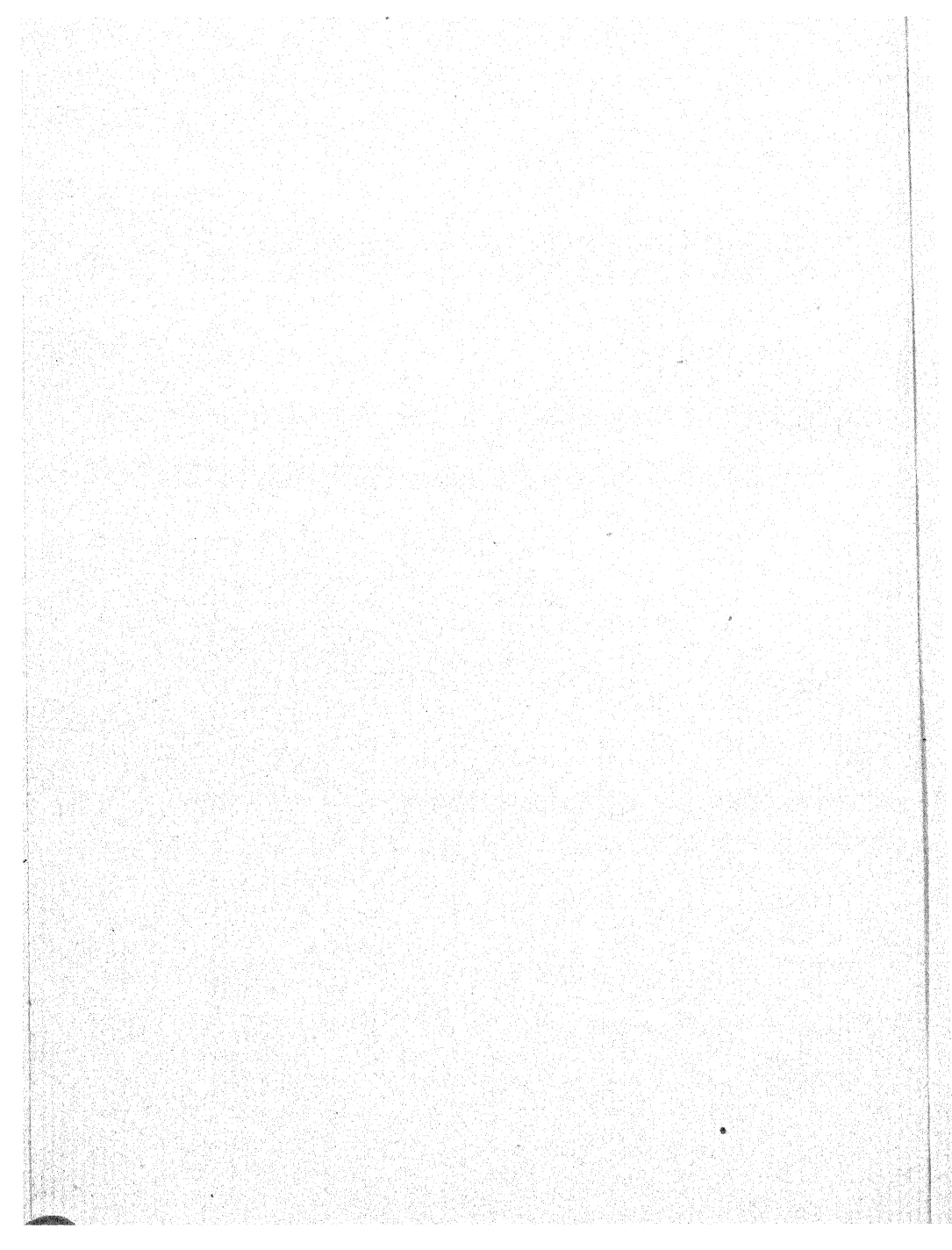
Two possibilities thus remained, either to reissue the work without any alteration, thus ignoring the remarkable progress made during the past thirteen years in the reading, restoration, and interpretation of the documents comprised in it, or to introduce into the text a few minor corrections and to add an appendix containing some bibliographical references inadvertently omitted in the first edition and calling attention to the principal discussions of the several inscriptions which have appeared since the beginning of 1933 and the most important textual and historical modifications which they demand. The latter course has been adopted and will, I hope, commend itself alike to teachers and to students who use this book. I have not sought to make the bibliographies absolutely complete, but have restricted myself to those references which will, in my judgement, be of real value to the student.

M. N. T.

ORIEL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.  
*July, 1946.*

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## PREFACE

EVER since 1901 Hicks and Hill's *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, a revised edition of Hicks's work originally published in 1882, has rendered signal and indispensable service to students, especially to English-speaking students, of Greek history. Now, however, the *Manual* is out of print, and, since Dr. G. F. Hill is too fully occupied by his responsible duties as Director of the British Museum to undertake the preparation of a new edition, the Delegates of the Oxford University Press have invited me to write a fresh work on the same general lines.

My obligations to Hicks and Hill's *Manual*, endeared to me by thirty years of close and constant study, hardly require emphasis, and its influence will be unmistakably evident throughout this book, alike in its form and in its substance. Nevertheless, the remarkable progress which those thirty years have witnessed, both in the discovery of new inscriptions and in the more adequate decipherment, restoration and interpretation of those already known, seems to call for an entirely new work rather than a mere revision of the old; and as not a single sentence and hardly a single phrase in this book is taken over from its predecessor, it would have been mere affectation to describe it as a new edition of the *Manual*.

In the transcription of epigraphical texts I have adhered, despite the modern fashion, to the system followed by Hicks and Hill. Had I been writing primarily for epigraphists, I should have adopted a somewhat different system; but for University students, who have been chiefly in my mind, the gain in intelligibility seems to me to outweigh any drawbacks which this method may entail. I write, therefore, τῆς βουλῆς and ὅπως in preference to τοῦ βουλευσ and ὡπως. I have, however, introduced some modifications in the use of the conventional signs employed in the texts of inscriptions: these are, I hope, sufficiently explained on p. xix. In the transliteration of proper names I have abandoned the practice

of Hicks and Hill in favour of the method recommended by the Council of the Hellenic Society for use in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*: its basic principle is that 'all Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age'. In a matter of this kind, however, strict consistency is hardly attainable.

I have written, as has been said, primarily to meet the needs of University students. If that object was to be achieved, brevity was not only desirable but essential, and detailed examinations of the numerous and difficult problems raised by the epigraphical documents had perforce to be omitted. On the other hand, the genuine student will wish to inquire further into some of the questions which challenge his attention and excite his interest, and I have therefore been lavish in giving references to ancient sources and to modern discussions which will enable him to follow up such quests. As the title of the book suggests, I have thought chiefly of students of Greek history, and have dealt cursorily, if at all, with questions of a linguistic nature, seeking to focus attention rather upon the structure of the documents selected and upon their historical significance. Considerations of brevity have, further, led me to discard any introduction; those readers who desire a short general account of the characteristics and value of the epigraphical evidence will find some suggestions in the opening chapter of my recent booklet *Sidelights on Greek History*.

For the sake of clarity I have divided into three parts the *lemma* prefixed to each text. The first of these records the nature of the monument, the place of its discovery and its present location, the second deals with its script and the third contains bibliographical references. In the second part I have, following a suggestion made to me by Professor West, referred, where possible, to a published photograph or line-drawing of the inscription, which will give a more adequate idea of the letter-forms than typography can supply. I have shortened the bibliography by referring in each case to some recent publication which contains a full bibliographical



apparatus, marking it with the symbol +, and adding only the references accidentally omitted from it and those to later publications. Thus, e.g., in No. 2 I refer only to Hicks and Hill's *Manual* and to subsequent publications; the reader who desires a complete bibliography will find in Hicks and Hill all the remaining references. The table of concordance on pp. 236-7 will, I hope, facilitate the task of discovering where the texts which occur in the present selection are to be found in certain standard works on Greek inscriptions.

The progress of epigraphical studies is unrelaxing, and nowhere more so than in the field of Athenian public inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. I have, to my great regret, been unable to take full advantage of Professor Ferguson's masterly work *The Treasurers of Athena*, which was inaccessible to me until the greater part of my book was already in print; on the other hand, I have derived considerable benefit from Professor Meritt's *Athenian Financial Documents*, thanks to the kindness of the author in sending me proofs of this still unpublished book. In a work like the present, involving countless questions of detail and numerous openings for diversity of interpretation, I cannot hope to have escaped error, still less to satisfy the judgement of every reader. My desire is that even its shortcomings may, by evoking a constructive criticism, contribute to the furtherance of epigraphical studies and thus to a truer understanding of the history on which these inscriptions shed a great and ever-growing light.

In order to keep this volume within a moderate compass and to secure its publication without undue delay, it has been thought best to confine it to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In view, however, of the interest and importance of Greek history in the fourth century and also of the value of the epigraphical evidence relative to it, I trust that a somewhat similar volume may in due course be published containing selected inscriptions belonging to that century.

My task has been rendered easier and pleasanter by the assistance freely and graciously given by friends and colleagues, among whom I may name Professor F. E. Adcock, Mr. A. M.

Woodward, Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery, and Mr. C. Hignett. Special acknowledgement is due to two American scholars, to whom reference has already been made, Professor A. B. West, of the University of Cincinnati, whom I am proud to number among the former students of my own College, and Professor B. D. Meritt, of the University of Michigan. The close and fruitful study which they have devoted, alike separately and in collaboration, to the historical inscriptions of fifth-century Athens, and pre-eminently to the Tribute Quota-lists and other financial documents, qualifies them to speak with special authority on these important records, and they have with unstinting generosity placed at my disposal, for the benefit of students of Athenian history, the results, both published and unpublished, of their researches. To all these friends I tender my heartfelt thanks, and, conscious as I am of the defects of the present work, I reassure myself by reflecting on the value which their co-operation has given to it.

Nor must I pass over without a word of high appreciation the help received from the Reader of the University Press, who by his constant alertness and his high standard of scholarship has saved me from many an inconsistency and error.

Less specific, maybe, yet no less deep, are my obligations to the eminent epigraphist to whom this book is, by his kind permission, dedicated. The profound impress which his quick insight, his wonderful learning and his tireless industry have made upon the study of Greek inscriptions of every period, every category and every part of the Hellenic world, the stimulus afforded by his teaching and the inspiration of his friendship have brought to me, as to many another, a great and permanent enrichment of thought and life. To him I offer this book in recognition of a debt which may be acknowledged but can never be repaid.

M. N. T.

ORIEL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.  
*November, 1932.*

# CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xiv
SYMBOLS USED IN EPIGRAPHICAL TEXTS . . . . .	xx

## PART I

THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. . . . .	1
--------------------------------	---

## PART II

THE PERSIAN WARS . . . . .	16
----------------------------	----

## PART III

THE PENTEKONTAETIA . . . . .	27
------------------------------	----

## PART IV

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR . . . . .	129
---------------------------------	-----

ATHENIAN EPONYMOUS ARCHONS, 500-401 B.C. . . . .	235
--	-----

TABLE OF CONCORDANCE . . . . .	236
--------------------------------	-----

### INDEXES:

I. PROPER NAMES . . . . .	239
II. SUBJECTS . . . . .	250
III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES . . . . .	252

APPENDIX OF ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA . . . . .	257
--	-----

Note I: Quota-lists of the Peloponnesian War as revised by B. D. Meritt ( <i>A. J. Phil.</i> lxii. 1 ff.) . . . . .	266
--	-----

Note II: Re-assessment of the Peloponnesian War . . . . .	266
---	-----

## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- A. E. M.* = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.*
- A. F. D.* See Meritt, *A. F. D.*
- A. J. Arch.* = *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- A. J. Phil.* = *American Journal of Philology.*
- Abh. Berl.* = *Abhandlungen der [Königlich] preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften : Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
- Am. Hist. Rev.* = *American Historical Review.*
- Ar. u. Ath.* = U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin, 1893.
- Arch. Anz.* = *Archäologischer Anzeiger : Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts.*
- Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* = *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.*
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts : Athenische Abteilung.*
- Atti Torino* = *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino.*
- B. C. H.* = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
- B. M. Bronzes* = *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, London, 1899.
- B. M. Cat. Coins* = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1873-.
- B. M. I.* = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, London, 1874-1916.
- B. M. Sel. Inscr.* = *A Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions exhibited in the . . . British Museum* (2nd edition), London, 1929.
- B. S. A.* = *Annual of the British School at Athens.*
- B. S. A. Alex.* = *Bulletin de la Société archéologique [later Royale d'archéologie] d'Alexandrie.*
- Bechtel, G. D. = F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Berlin, 1921-4.
- Beitr.* = A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Vienna, 1909.
- Beloch, G. G. = K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (2nd edition), Strasburg and Berlin, 1912-27.
- Ber. Sächs. Gesell.* = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der [Kgl.] sächsischen Gesellschaft [later Akademie] der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.*
- Berl. Phil. Woch.* = *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.*

- Bleekmann = F. Bleekmann, *Griechische Inschriften zur griechischen Staatenkunde*, Bonn, 1913.
- Böckh, *Staatshaush.* = A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (3rd edition, revised by M. Fränkel), Berlin, 1886.
- Buck, G. D. = C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* (2nd edition), Boston, 1928.
- Bull. Metr. Mus.* = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*
- Busolt, G. G. = G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* (vols. I and II in 2nd edition), Gotha, 1893-1904.
- Busolt, *Gr. St.* = G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, in I. von Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, IV. 1. 1 (3rd edition), Munich, 1920-6.
- C. A. H. = *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge, 1923-.
- C. R. A. I. = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
- C. R. A. Sci. Russ. = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie.*
- Cavaignac, *Études* = E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1908.
- Cl. Phil.* = *Classical Philology.*
- Cl. Qu.* = *Classical Quarterly.*
- Cl. Rev.* = *Classical Review.*
- D. G. E. = E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* (being the 3rd edition of P. Cauer's *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium*), Leipzig, 1923.
- Dict. Ant.* = Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Paris, 1877-1919.
- 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
- F. Gr. Hist.* = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin, 1923-.
- F. H. G.* = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. et T. Müller, Paris, 1841-72.
- Fouilles* = *Fouilles de Delphes* (vol. III deals with inscriptions), Paris, 1909-.
- G. A. See Meyer, G. A.
- G. A. I. = K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (3rd edition, by E. Schwyzler), Berlin, 1900.
- G. D. = *Griechische Dialekte* or *Greek Dialects.*
- G. D. I. = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, O. Hoffmann, Göttingen, 1884-1915.
- G. G. = *Griechische Geschichte.*
- G. G. A. = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.*
- Geffcken = J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, Heidelberg, 1916.

- Gött. Nachr. = *Nachrichten von der [Kgl.] Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse.*
- H. A. I. See Nachmanson, *H. A. I.*
- H. G. I. See Nachmanson, *H. G. I.*
- H. Gr. Ep. See Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.*
- Harvard Studies = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.*
- Head, H. N. = B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd edition), Oxford, 1911.
- Heikel = I. A. Heikel, *Griechische Inschriften sprachlich erklärt*, Helsingfors, 1924.
- Helbing = R. Helbing, *Auswahl aus griechischen Inschriften*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1915.
- Hicks-Hill = E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1901.
- Hill, Sources = G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History* (2nd issue), Oxford, 1907.
- Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* = F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Historische Griechische Epigramme*, Bonn, 1926.
- Hiller-Crusius = E. Hiller et O. Crusius, *Anthologia Lyrica*, Leipzig, 1897.
- Hitzig, *Altgr. Staatsv.* = H. F. Hitzig, *Altgriechische Staatsverträge über Rechtshilfe* (in *Festgabe F. Regelsberger*), Zurich, 1907.
- Hoffmann = E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*, Halle, 1893.
- I. G. = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873-.
- I. G. A. = H. Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas*, Berlin, 1882.
- I. J. G. = R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, T. Reinach, *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, Paris, 1891-1904.
- Imag. = H. Roehl, *Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimarum* (3rd edition), Berlin, 1907.
- Indog. Forsch. = *Indogermanische Forschungen.*
- Inscr. Magn. = O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900.
- Inscr. Olympia = W. Dittenberger und K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin, 1896.
- Inscr. Priene = F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906.
- J. H. S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
- J. R. I. B. A. = *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.*
- Jahrb. = *Jahrbuch des [Kaiserlich] Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
- Jahrb. f. Philol. = *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.*

- Jahresh.* = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien.*
- Janell = W. Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften griechisch und deutsch*, Berlin, 1906.
- Kern, I. G. = O. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Bonn, 1913.
- Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup> = A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* (4th edition), Gütersloh, 1887.
- L. G. S. = I. von Prott et L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae*, Leipzig, 1896-1906.
- Larfeld<sup>3</sup> = W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, in I. von Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, I. 5 (3rd edition), Munich, 1914.
- Laudien = A. Laudien, *Griechische Inschriften als Illustrationen zu den Schulschriftstellern*, Berlin, 1912.
- Mem. Linc.* = *Memorie della R. Accademia [Nazionale] dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.*
- Meritt, A. F. D. = B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1932.
- Metr. Mus. Stud.* = *Metropolitan Museum Studies.*
- Meyer, *Forsch.* = E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, Halle, 1892-9.
- Meyer, G. A. = E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums* (vols. III-V), Stuttgart, 1901-2.
- Michel = C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Paris-Brussels, 1900-27.
- Mon. Ant.* = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia [Nazionale] dei Lincei.*
- Monatsb. Berl.* = *Monatsbericht der Königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
- Nachmanson, H. A. I. = E. Nachmanson, *Historische Attische Inschriften*, Bonn, 1913.
- Nachmanson, H. G. I. = E. Nachmanson, *Historische Griechische Inschriften*, Bonn, 1913.
- Neue Jahrb.* = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterum.*
- Num. Chron.* = *Numismatic Chronicle.*
- P. A. = J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901-3.
- P. L. G.<sup>4</sup> = T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*: vol. iii. *Poetae Melici*, Leipzig, 1914.
- Pal. Soc. Facs.* = *The Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, London, 1873-.
- Pap. Am. School* = *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*
- Phil. Woch.* = *Philologische Wochenschrift.*

- Philol.* = *Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum.*
- Powell-Barber* = J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (two series), Oxford, 1921-9.
- Πρακτ.* = *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.*
- Preger* = T. Preger, *Inscriptiones graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae*, Leipzig, 1891.
- Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* = *Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*
- R. E.* = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894-.
- R. E. G.* = *Revue des Études Grecques.*
- Raccolta Lumbroso* = *Raccolta di scritti in onore di G. Lumbroso*, Milan, 1925.
- Reinach, Traité* = S. Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, Paris, 1885.
- Rev. Arch.* = *Revue Archéologique.*
- Rev. Hist. Rel.* = *Revue de l'histoire des religions (Annales du Musée Guimet).*
- Rev. Phil.* = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.*
- Rh. Mus.* = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
- Riv. Fil.* = *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica.*
- Roberts* = E. S. Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I, Cambridge, 1887.
- Roberts-Gardner* = E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II. The Inscriptions of Attica, Cambridge, 1905.
- S. E. G.* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
- S. I. G.* = Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd edition), Leipzig, 1915-24.
- S. I. G.<sup>2</sup>* = ditto (2nd edition), Leipzig, 1898-1901.
- Sitzb. Berl.* = *Sitzungsberichte der [Kgl.] Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
- Sitzb. Heidelberg* = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
- Sitzb. München* = *Sitzungsberichte der [Kgl.] Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse.*
- Sitzb. Wien* = *Sitzungsberichte der [Kais.] Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
- Solmsen* = F. Solmsen, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae* (4th edition, by E. Fraenkel), Leipzig, 1930.
- Stud. It. Fil.* = *Studi italiani di Filologia classica.*
- T. A. M.* = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vienna, 1901-.



## ABBREVIATIONS

xix

*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* = *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

*Wien. Anz.* = *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der [Kais.] Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.*

*Wien. Stud.* = *Wiener Studien.*

*Wilhelm, Beitr.* = *A. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde, Vienna, 1909.*

*Z. Num.* = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik.*

*Z. Öst. Gymn.* = *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen [later deutschösterreichischen] Gymnasien.*

*Z. vergl. Spr.* = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.*

*Ziebarth, Seeraub* = *E. Ziebarth, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels im alten Griechenland, Hamburg, 1929.*

## II. GENERAL

*Facs.* = facsimile.

*Phot.* = photographic illustration.

## SYMBOLS USED IN EPIGRAPHICAL TEXTS

[ ] Square brackets enclose letters believed to have been originally engraved on the stone, but now lost or illegible.

( ) Curved brackets enclose (1) letters for which the engraver wrongly substituted other letters, or (2) letters added to complete a word which appears on the stone in an abbreviated form.

< > Angular brackets enclose letters accidentally omitted by the engraver.

[ [ ] ] Double brackets enclose superfluous letters accidentally inserted by the engraver.

. . . . Dots represent lost or illegible letters of which no restoration is offered: the number of such letters is equal to the number of the dots.

- x - indicates that  $x$  letters are lost or illegible.

- - - Dashes represent an uncertain number of lost or illegible letters.

ˆ A dot placed under a letter indicates that part of the letter is lost or illegible, but that what remains is compatible with, though it does not necessarily postulate, the proposed restoration.

v v v represents spaces left vacant by the engraver: each  $v$  represents a single letter-space.

*vacat* indicates that the engraver has left vacant the remainder of the line.

| indicates the beginning of a fresh line on the stone.

|| indicates the beginning of every fifth such line.

# A SELECTION OF GREEK HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

## PART I

### THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

#### 1

#### Constitution of Chios : about 600 B.C.

Upper part of a column of reddish trachyte tapering somewhat towards the top, found near the village of Tholopotami, built into the support-wall of the modern road running southwards from the town of Chios.

Early Ionic writing, irregularly scratched on the surface of the stone, which had been very imperfectly smoothed. Marks of punctuation occur only on the front and the right side. Βουστροφηδόν. On the back the lines run horizontally, on the front and sides vertically. Phot. of front, back and left side, facs. of right side in *Nordionische Steine*, 69 f., Pl. 2.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Nordionische Steine* (*Abh. Berl.* 1909), 64 ff.; E. Nachmanson, *Eranos*, xiii. 91 ff. and *H. G. I.* 2.

#### Front

- - κα : τῆς Ἰστίης δήμου | ῥήτρας : φυλάσσω[ν - -]ον : ηρει : ἡ  
5 ῥμελεν : δημαρχῶν : ἡ βασιλεύων : δέκα στατηήρας ? - - || - - τῆς  
Ἰστίης : ἀποδότω : δημαρχέων : ἐξπρήξαι : τὸν ἐ - -] - - εν δήμου  
κεκλημένον | ἀλοῖ : αἱ τιμᾶται : πρησ - -] - - μος ἦν γὰρ : ἀλοῖ ὁ - -||

#### Back

10 ἐκκαλείσθω ἐς | βουλὴν τὴν δημοσίνην· τῇ τρίτῃ | ἐξ Ἑβδομαίων|  
15 βουλῇ ἀγερέσθ[ω] ἡ δημοσίῃ ἐπιθώϊος λεκτ[ῇ] πεντήκοντ' ἀπ[ὸ]  
20 φυλῆς τὰ τ' ἄλ[λ]α] πρήσσειν τὰ δῆ[μ]ον καὶ δίκας [δρ[ό]σαι ἀν  
25 ἑκκλητῷ γένω[τα]ι τοῦ μηνὸς π[ό]δας ἐπ . . . || . . . . ερ - -|

#### Right Side

δημάρχωι : στατηήρ[ας - -] ἦν δὲ ἀδικῆται : παρα[λάβ]ῃ δ'  
ἡκκλητος, δ[ικ]άζειν ? - -|

#### Left Side

30 - - Σμισιῶνος|- - ων ὄρκια ἐπιταμνέτω ρο[- -] - - β[α]σιλεύειν.

For convenience I have numbered the lines consecutively, ignoring the gaps between the four extant passages of the document. The text is certain save at a few points. In l. 1 the first letters may be  $\sigma\alpha$ . The last letter of l. 6 may possibly be  $\sigma$  or  $\rho$ . There may have been a colon before  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\nu$  in l. 1 and after it in l. 7.  $\Gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  in l. 9,  $\varsigma$  in ll. 20, 21 and  $\delta$  in l. 28 are uncertain.

We have here part of a  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , reminding us of the  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  on which the laws of Solon are said to have been engraved (cf. K. Freeman, *Work and Life of Solon*, 143 ff., Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 291 ff., Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* i. 45, note 7). After a careful examination of the letter-forms, Wilamowitz concludes that 'on the whole, the stone will have been engraved about 600, a brother, older<sup>1</sup> rather than younger, of the Solonian law-pyramids.' Possibly the back and left side, where there are no marks of punctuation, may be slightly later than the front and right side, or may be engraved by a different hand. Line 32 apparently ends the whole document.

Despite much that is doubtful or unintelligible, the democratic tone of the constitution is unmistakable. The  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  issues  $\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  (l. 1); its  $\delta\eta\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\iota$  (the title used later to denote the *tribuni plebis* of Rome) play a prominent part (ll. 3, 5, 26) side by side with the  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (ll. 4, 32), who are probably a survival of an aristocratic, and ultimately of a monarchical, constitution; it is convened to give judgement (l. 7), perhaps in a public assembly, or perhaps, as previous editors have thought, in the form of the popular Council; he who is sentenced by a magistrate may appeal (l. 10) to the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\eta$   $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ , an elective body (l. 16) composed of fifty members of each tribe (l. 17: how many the tribes were we do not know), which must hold a plenary session on the ninth day of each month (l. 12) to carry on the business of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  and [to settle] all cases which have come up on appeal during the past month (l. 20 ff.). The epithet  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\eta$  twice added to  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$  suggests that another council continued to exist at Chios, just as at Athens the Areopagus lived on side by side with the Solonian, and later the Clisthenic,  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ .

The chief value of this document lies, as Wilamowitz has pointed out, in the fact that it makes us realize that 'the foundation for the organization of Greek society and the

Greek state was laid in Ionia, exactly as for poetry and philosophy'.

Some minor points call for notice. Whether 'Ιστίη here (ll. 1, 5) denotes the goddess or the *πρυτανεῖον*, the public hearth, is uncertain. 'Ρήτρη (ῥήτρα, φρήτα, φράτρα) is used for 'covenant' in *Od.* xiv. 393 and in Elis (No. 5, *D.G.E.* 414, 415), Cyprus (*D.G.E.* 679. 28), and Heraclea (*ib.* 62. 145); it is also used, as here (l. 2), to denote 'law', 'ordinance' (cf. *D.G.E.* 409, 412, *I.G.* v (1). 20, Tyrt. 2. 8, Plut. *Lyc.* 13). *Ηρει* (l. 3) cannot be satisfactorily explained: 'μελεν stands for *ἐμελλεν*, or possibly for an aorist *ἐμελεν*. Wilamowitz conjectures [ἦν μ]εν in l. 7 and *πρήσ[σειν]* or *πρησ[σέτω]* in l. 8. With *ἀλοῖ* (ll. 8, 9) cf. *G.D.I.* 5314. The 'Εβδομαῖα (l. 13: cf. *S.I.G.* 57. 6, 21) was a festival held in honour of Apollo on the seventh day of each month. 'Επιθώϊος (l. 15) should probably be taken actively, 'with power to inflict penalties', rather than passively, 'subject to a fine (for non-attendance)'.

## 2

### Epitaph of Arniadas of Corcyra: about 600 B.C.

Limestone slab, broken in two, found in 1846 in the southern suburb of Corcyra: now in the Museum there.

Archaic Corinthian alphabet: the letters are engraved between horizontal guide-lines. *Βουστροφηδόν*. Facs. in *Imag.* 46. 25.

Hicks-Hill, 2+ Geffcken, 54; *D.G.E.* 133 (2); Heikel, 41; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 1; Buck, *G. D.* 88; Solmsen, 34 (b). Cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvii. 1440 ff.

Σάμα τόδε 'Αρνιάδα · χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλε|σεν 'Αρης  
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσ|ιν ἐπ' 'Αράθθοιο ρ'οφαῖσι  
πολλὰ|ν ἀριστεύ[τ]οντα κατὰ στονό|φεσαν ἀφγτάν.

'This is Arniadas' tomb: him grim Ares slew as he fought by the ships at the streams of Araththus foremost by far in the mournful battle-din.'

Arniadas seems to have fallen on land near the mouth of the Arachthus, which flows southwards into the Ambracian Gulf. The battle can therefore hardly be identified with the sea-fight between Corinth and Corcyra which Thucydides (i. 13) dates about 664 B.C., but it may well have been an

incident in the long struggle between these two powers for commercial and naval supremacy in north-western Greece, and may fall as early as 620, or even 630, B.C.

Some editors take Charops to be the name of Arniadas' father and read Σάμα τόδε Ἀρνιαδά Χάροπος · τὸν δ' κτλ. (cf. W. Bannier, *loc. cit.*). The second τ of ἀριστεύοντα is more probably redundant than an engraver's error for ρ.

## 3

## Statues of Cleobis and Biton : early sixth Century B.C.

On the upper surface of two plinths of island (Naxian ?) marble, each of which was originally of one piece with the statue it supported. Found at Delphi, *A* in 1907 and *B* in 1893, and now in the Museum there. The statues were discovered in 1894 and 1893 respectively; see *Fouilles*, iv (1), p. 5 ff., with Bibliography (down to 1909) on p. 17.

Archaic Phocian letters (except possibly in l. 4, where they may be Argive) : l. 1 runs from left to right, ll. 2-4 are retrograde. Photo of *A* and facs. of *A*, *B* in *Jahresh.* xiii. 43, 45.

S. I. G. 5 + T. Homolle, *C. R. A. I.* 1924, 149 ff.; D. G. E. 317; L. Weber, *Philol.* lxxxii. 160 f.; C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 141 f., xx. 139; Solmsen, 47. Cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvi. 925 f.; F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, 94 ff.; F. von Hiller, *Phil. Woch.* xlii. 856; L. Weber, *ibid.* xlii. 423 ff.; W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 24 ff.

*A*

[Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων : τὰν ματάρᾱ | σταδίους [τετρώροντα]

*B*

πέντ]ε ἀγαγον : τῶι θυγῶι : [ὑποδύντες]. |

Πολυμήδης ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος.

We have here the original inscription which underlies the famous story of Cleobis and Biton placed by Herodotus in the mouth of Solon, ending with the words Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφῶν εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων (i. 31). It may well be as early as Solon, though Pomtow held that the artist's signature, in Argive letters and dialect, originally stood alone, and that the remainder, in Delphian dialect and script, was subsequently added, perhaps about 520-15 B.C., for the enlightenment of visitors to Delphi.

The absence of any dedicatory formula and the omission of an ethnic after the names of Cleobis and Biton led Wilamo-

witz (*Ar. u. Ath.* i. 269) to the view that the story originated in Delphi rather than at Argos, and C. Robert (*Sitzb. München*, 1916. 2. 3 ff.) held that Cleobis and Biton were Delphians who introduced into Delphi the cult of a 'Mother', perhaps Leto or Demeter, and that the transference of the story to Argos may have been facilitated by the ethnic of the sculptor and by the existence at Argos of a statue of another Biton, who carried an ox from Argos to Nemea (Paus. ii. 19. 5). In a more recent examination of the story (*Rev. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 365 ff.), C. Picard maintains the connexion with Argos, and argues that the achievement of the young men consisted in dragging on a ritual carriage for eight kilometres, from Argos to the Heraeum, a heavy image of the 'Mother', Demeter. Cf. L. Weber, *Philol.* lxxxii. 154 ff.

The reading and restoration are due to Pomtow, von Premierstein and Homolle. At his final attempt Homolle read *σταδίου*s and thought he could discern traces of *τετράφροντα* (for this Delphian form of *τεσσαράκοντα* cf. *S.I.G.* 178. 47, 241 A 67, etc.): he restored *ὑποδύντες* (*a*) for the sake of symmetry, and because (*b*) some word seemed needed upon which *τῷ θυγῷ* (= *ζυγῷ*) might depend, (*c*) the colon after *θυγῷ* suggests that a further word followed, and (*d*) Herodotus uses the phrase *ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην*.

The dialect of ll. 1-3 is N.W. Greek, as used, e.g., at Delphi and in Locris. With *ματάρᾱ* cf. *πατάρᾱ* in No. 24, l. 36; the puzzling form *ἐάγαγον* disappears if the above restoration is correct; von Premierstein's *τῷ θυγῷ* is on several grounds preferable to Pomtow's *τοῖδ' υἱοί*. Whether the dialect of l. 4 is Delphian or Argive is still disputed. The last two words have been read as *ἐπόλεε* 'Αργείος (= *ὁ Ἀργεῖος*) or as *ἐπόλφει* 'Αργεῖος (C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 142, F. Solmsen, *Indog. Forsch.* xxxi. 473). I accept Buck's later suggestion (*Cl. Phil.* xx. 139) that the verb is in the aorist and that the aspirate represents inter-vocalic sigma (*ἐποίρφη* = *ἐποίρφησε*). Only the last five letters of the artist's name are certain. On the dialect see further *D.G.E.* 317.

## 4

## Greek Mercenaries in Egyptian Service: 594-89 B.C.

Scratched on the left leg of a colossal statue of Rameses II before the great temple of Abu Simbel in Nubia, on the left bank of the Nile; *i* is below the knee of a second colossus.

Written in archaic Ionic letters by various hands from left to right, except *i*, which is *βουστροφηδόν*: *γ* and *λ* are sometimes indistinguishable; *Ξ* = *η* in *a, b*, but in *f* it denotes the aspirate and in *c*, and perhaps *i*, it is used with both values; *Ο* represents *ο, ου, ω*, there being no separate form for *ω*; *Φ* retains its place, instead of *κ*, before *ο* (*a 5, e*); *σ* has three strokes except in *h*, where it has five. Facs. in *Imag.* 18f. 1.

*S. I. G.* 1 + Michel, 1815 (*a* only); *D. G. E.* 301; Buck, *G. D.* 97.

(*a*) Βασιλέος ἑλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίαν Ψαματίχου, | ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλοῦς | ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατῴπερθε, *vīs* ὁ ποταμὸς | ἀνίη, ἀλογλώσσους δ' ἦ(γ)ε Ποτασιμτῶ 5 Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἀμασις. || Ἐγραφε δ' ἅμ' Ἀρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμου.

(*b*) Ἐλεσίβης ὁ Τήϊος.

(*c*) Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλυσιο - - -

(*d*) Πύθων Ἀμοιβίχ[ου].

(*e*) Πάβις ὁ φολοφώνιος | σὺν Ψαμματῶ.

(*f*) Ἀγήσερμος[ς].

(*g*) Πασι(φ)ῶν ὁ Ἴππου.

(*h*) Κρίθις ἔγρα(φε)ν.

(*i*) Ὀμγυσοβ (?) ὅκα βασιλ|εὺς ἤλασε τὸν στρατὸν τὸ πρῶτον  
[- - - ἀ(μ)α Ψαματίχ[ω](- - -)].

(*a*) 'When King Psammetichus came to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psammetichus the son of Theocles wrote this; and they came above Kerkis as far as the river allowed; and Potasimto led those of foreign speech and Amasis the Egyptians; and Archon the son of Amoebichus wrote us and Peleqos the son of Eudamus'.

That the king here mentioned is Psamatik II (the *Ψάμμις* of Herodotus) rather than his grandfather Psamatik I (the Herodotean *Ψαμμήτιχος*) was rendered probable by A. Wiedemann (*Rh. Mus.* xxxv. 364 ff.) and has been proved by the discovery of the sarcophagus of Potasimto (Pedisamtawi), which shows that he was commander of the foreign mercenaries under the second Psamatik (G. Lefebvre, *B. S. A.*



*Alex.* vi. 48 ff.). Detachments of native and foreign soldiers, having marched with the king to Elephantine, pushed on southwards as far as the Second Cataract (Κέρκισ, the Egyptian *Kerti*, indicates the reach of the Nile which lies between the First Cataract and Elephantine), and on their return left at Abu Simbel this record of their achievement. Herodotus dates the Ethiopian expedition near the close of Psammis' reign (ii. 161).

Psammetichus the son of Theocles (l. 2) is perhaps the son of a Greek mercenary who had served under Psamatik I. With ἀλλογλώσσους (l. 4) cf. Hdt. ii. 154 πῶτοι οὔτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν and *I.G.* xii (3). 328. 20. H. R. Hall conjectured (*Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, 544, note 5) that ΟΥΔΑΜΟ (l. 5) means 'nobody' and E. Harrison suggests that 'Axe the son of Nobody' aided Archon to engrave the inscription (*Cl. Rev.* xl. 140): I prefer to retain the traditional explanation that Οὐδάμων = ὁ Εὐδάμων (cf. *I.G.* xii (1). 709). For the singular verb ἔγραφε cf. Thuc. i. 51. 4 ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου. The alphabet is Ionic, but the language shows several Doric forms, e.g. τοί, υῖς, ἀμέ. Consonants are not doubled save the μ of Ψαμματίχῳ (l. 2); but see *e* and *g*. In l. 4 I write ἦ(γ)ε for the ἦχε of my predecessors, as I regard the verb ἄγω as more suitable than ἔχω and the imperfect tense than the perfect.

(b) Ἐλεσίβυς may be a hypocoristic form of Ἐλεσίβιος. (c) After Ἰαλυσιο the facsimile shows α . . | | s λ ε ψ --: Bannier tentatively restores Ἰαλυσίου ἀ[πο]λῖς λειψ[ίπατρις] (*Phil. Woch.* xlvi. 540 f.). (d) Possibly we should read Ἀμοιβίχον here and in α 5. (e) Πάβις may be shortened for Πάμβις or Πάμβιος and Ψαμματῖ for Ψαμματίχῳ. (g) The fifth letter looks like δ or ρ and Wiedemann took Πασίδων as a Phoenician name: perhaps the third word should be read Ἰππο -- or ἰππο --. (h) The facsimile shows ἔγρααν. (i) The opening name, if correctly read, must be that of a barbarian. W. Bannier suggests reading *h* and *i* continuously, though inscribed on different statues, and dividing ὁ Μλυσοβ (*loc. cit.*). The verb is transcribed by some editors ἤλασε or ἦ[[ε]]λασε, but elsewhere in this inscription Ε represents the aspirate.

## 5

**Alliance between Eleans and Heraeans: sixth Century B.C.**

A bronze tablet found at Olympia in 1813; now in the British Museum. Archaic Elean alphabet. Phot. in *Pal. Soc. Facs.* Pl. 78; facs. in *Imag.* 111. 2.

Hicks-Hill, 9+ Janell, 42; Nachmanson, *H. G. I.* 4; *S. I. G.* 9; Helbing, 1; *D. G. E.* 413; Heikel, 59; Buck, *G. D.* 58; Solmsen, 52. Cf. B. Niese, *Genethliakon für C. Robert*, 20, note 1; A. Wilhelm, *Z. öst. Gymn.* 1913, 602; W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvi. 926 ff.; Beloch, *G. G. i.*<sup>2</sup> 1. 386, note 1; Bölte in *R. E.* viii. 413.

‘Α φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις : καὶ τοῖς Ἡρ|φαώιοις. : Συμμαχία κ’ ἕα  
ἐκατὸν ρέτεα, : | ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ· αἱ δέ τι δέοι : αἶτε ρέπος αἶτε  
5 ρ|άργον : συνέαν κ’ ἀλάλοισ : τὰ τ’ ἄλ<α> καὶ πὰ||ρ πολέμω : αἱ δέ  
μὰ συνέαν, : τάλαντόν κ’ | ἀργύρω : ἀποτίνοιαν : τῶι Δι’ Ὀλυμπίωι :  
τοῖ κα|δαλήμενοι : λατρεῖόμενον. : Αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γ|ράφεα : ταῖ καδα-  
λέοιτο, αἶτε ρέτας αἶτε τ|ελεστά : αἶτε δᾶμος, : ἐν τ’ ἐπιάρωι κ’  
10 ἐνέχ||οιτο τῶι ταῷτ’ ἐγραμένωι.

‘The covenant between the Eleans and the Heraeans. There shall be alliance for a hundred years, and this (year) shall be the first; and if there be any need, whether of word or of deed, they shall stand by each other in all matters and especially in war; and if they stand not by each other, those who do the wrong shall pay a talent of silver to Olympian Zeus to be used in his service. And if anyone injure this writing, whether private man or magistrate or community, he shall be liable to the sacred fine herein written.’

For φράτρα see No. 1. The spelling Ἡρφαώιοις (or Ἡρφαοίοις) is now generally accepted in preference to Εὔφαώιοις, read by some earlier scholars (cf. R. Meister, *G. D.* ii. 17 ff., R. Weil, *Z. Num.* xxix. 142 f.). \*Εα, συνέαν (ll. 2, 4, 5) = εἴη, συνεῖεν. Τοῖ, ταῖ (ll. 3, 8) = ταδί, ταδί (τόδε, τάδε). Πάρ (l. 4) = περί (R. Günther, *Indog. Forsch.* xx. 139). Καδαλήμενοι, καδαλέοιτο (ll. 6, 8) = καταδηλούμενοι, καταδηλοῖτο. ρέτας survives in Arcadian prose till the first century B.C. (*I. G.* v (2). 20). Ἐπιάρωι (= ἐφιέρωι) here (l. 9) apparently denotes ‘fine’ rather than ‘curse’. For the Elean dialect see Bechtel, *G. D.* ii. 827 ff., and the brief summary of its salient characteristics in Buck, *G. D.* p. 144 f.

The date of this alliance cannot be certainly determined, though it seems to belong to the sixth century. Even if we accept the tradition that in, or shortly before, 572 B.C. the Eleans finally wrested from the Pisatans the control of the Olympian sanctuary and festival, the question still arises whether this treaty was concluded after that date or at some time during the long and chequered struggle which preceded it (cf. Wade-Gery, *C.A.H.* iii. 580, 544 ff., Busolt, *G.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 604 f., 705 ff., O. Viedebant, *Philol.* lxxxv. 23 ff.). The eastward expansion of their power brought the Eleans into direct contact with the Heraeans, who formed the north-western canton of Arcadia and whose importance is attested by the abundance of their early coinage (Head, *H.N.* 447). An alliance was made for a hundred years, beginning with 'this year': the indefiniteness may perhaps be due, at least in part, to the fact that a century's alliance was regarded as practically unlimited (B. Keil, *Ελληνική*, 8) and therefore its starting-point need not be precisely dated. Not until the fourth century are alliances concluded *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*. In the sixth century neither of the communities concerned had a city centre: the *συνοικισμός* of the Eleans took place about 472 (Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 117), that of the Heraeans about a century later. See further U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachr.* 1927, 157 ff.

## 6

## Croesus' Gifts to the Ephesian Artemisium: about 550 B.C.

Five fragments of moulding, belonging to three column-bases, found in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus: now in the British Museum.

Ionian alphabet. Facs. in *Imag.* 20. 8.

Hicks-Hill, 5 + Janell, 137; Nachmanson, *H.G.I.* 5; *S.I.G.* 6. Cf. O Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, i. 28 f.; A. Wilhelm, *G.G.A.* 1903, 772; D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 298 f.; Bürechner in *R.E.* v. 2788.

(a) [Βασιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκ]εν].

(b) Βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀνέ[θηκεν].

(c) [Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκ]εν.

Among the votive offerings lavished by Croesus on Greek temples were, Herodotus says (i. 92), ἐν Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ

χρۇσεαι καὶ τῶν κινόνων αἱ πολλαί. The famous Artemisium, planned by Chersiphron of Cnossus (Strabo, xiv. 1. 22, Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 125, xxxvi. 95), was begun in Croesus' reign, but took some 120 years to complete: it was deliberately burned by Herostratus in 356 (*R.E.* viii. 1145 f.). For its history and architecture see the works of Hogarth and Benndorf cited above, and E. Löwy, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxiii. 4.

## 7

## Dedication of Aeaces of Samos: about 540 B.C.

Marble statue of a seated figure, found in 1905 in the Samian Heraeum: now in the Museum at Vathy. The inscription is engraved on the left side of the chair.

Early Ionian letters. Στοιχιδόν, perhaps the earliest extant example of this style. Phot. in *Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. 152-3; Kern, *I.G.* 7; facs. in *Imag.* 26. 26.

*S.I.G.* 10+ *G. D. I.* iv. 68 (p. 887). Cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvi. 646; Ziebarth, *Seeraub*, 100.

Ἀεάκης ἀνέθηκεν | ὁ Βρύσωνος : ὅς τῃ | Ἡρῇ : τὴν σύλην :  
5 ἔ|πρησεν : κατὰ τὴν || ἐπίστασιν.

The dedicator of this statue is very probably the father of the tyrant Polycrates, who bore the name Aeaces according to Herodotus (ii. 182, iii. 39, etc.), though Suidas (s.v. Ἰβυκος) calls him Polycrates. Aeaces' grandson, also named Aeaces, was tyrant of Samos, in succession to his father Syloson, in the early part of the fifth century (Hdt. iv. 138, vi. 13, 14, 22, 25). The word σύλη, found here alone in the singular (for the plural cf. Dem. xxxv. 13, 26, li. 13, etc.), refers to booty seized whether by land or by sea. Aeaces as ἐπιστάτης (ἐπίστασις here = ἐπιστατεία, 'commissionership') used to levy (if, as is probable, ἔπρησεν comes from πρήσσω; Hoffmann, however, sees in it the Ionic aorist of πρᾶω, 'sell') a certain proportion of such booty, which was dedicated to Hera. Herodotus gives two examples of Samian depredations about this time (iii. 47). Compare Livy's statement about the Lipareans, *mos erat civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere* (v. 28), and see No. 34 for a covenant regulating the right of seizure.

## 8

**Dedication of Pisistratus, son of Hippias: 527-11 B.C.**

Two fragments of a sculptured marble cornice, found in 1877 near the Ilissus: now in the National Museum.

Archaic Attic alphabet. Phot. in Kern, *I. G.* 12; facs. in *Imag.* 72. 21.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 761 + Preger, 71; Roberts, 56; Janell, 102; Heikel, 1; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 8.

Μνήμα τόδε ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος Ἰππίου] υἱὸς  
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθ[ίου] ἐν τεμένει.

Thucydides (vi. 54. 6) records that the younger Pisistratus in his archonship dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and that of Apollo in the Pythium, and adds that the inscription on the latter, which he quotes *verbatim*, ἐτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε. The epithet ἀμυδρός, which can hardly mean 'obsolete', 'old-fashioned' (so E. Szanto, *Wien. Stud.* iii. 155 ff.), is best understood as referring to the disappearance of the paint, with which the letters had originally been filled (cf. Wilhelm, *Beitr.* 112; for the use of paint in Greek inscriptions see *op. cit.* 231, 240, and Larfeld<sup>3</sup>, 131).

The epigram may be dated between 527, when the elder Pisistratus died, and 510, when the Pisistratidae were expelled from Attica: it cannot, however, belong to 511-10, in which year Harpactides was eponymous archon (Ἀθ. πολ. 19. 6).

## 9

**Histiaeus of Miletus: 524-504 B.C.**

On a fragment found near the ruins of the temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Branchidae.

Ionian alphabet. Βουστροφηδόν.

Hicks-Hill, 6 + *G. D. I.* 5509; Nachmanson, *H. G. I.* 8; *S. I. G.* 3f.

Ἰστιαῖος | ἀνέθ[ηκε τῷ] ἀπόλλω[νι].

The temple of Apollo at Didyma, often called after the priestly clan of the Branchidae, was the principal sanctuary of Miletus, though distant from the city almost ten miles as the crow flies. A dedicator who there described himself

merely by name, without patronymic or ethnic, was probably a leading Milesian citizen, and the identification of this Histiaeus with the famous tyrant who ruled Miletus in the last quarter of the sixth century is, if not certain, at least probable. It is, however, surprising that the *βουστροφηδόν* style of writing should have survived so long in so progressive a state.

## 10

## Letter of Darius : 521-486 B.C.

On a marble block found in 1886 at Deirmendjik, on the road from Magnesia on the Maeander to Tralles : now in the Louvre. One side of the stone also bears traces of two inscriptions, now almost illegible.

The letter-forms indicate that the extant text was engraved about A.D. 100-150.

*S.I.G.* 22 + Wilamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, i. 391, ii. 252 f. ; Janell, 48.

Βασιλεὺς [β]ασιλέων Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστράσπεω Γαδάται| δούλωι τάδε  
 5 λέγε[ι] · || πυνθάνομαι σε τῶν | ἐμῶν ἐπιταγμάτων | οὐ κατὰ πάντα  
 10 πειθαρχεῖν · ὅτι μὲν γάρ [τ]ῆν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς || [γ]ῆν, τοὺς πέραν  
 Εὐφράτου καρποὺς ἐπ[ι] τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέ[ρ]η καταφυτεύων,  
 15 ἐπαί[ν]ω σὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ || [δ]ιὰ ταῦτά σοι κέλεται | μεγάλη χάρις  
 ἐμ βασιλέως οἴκωι · ὅτι δὲ τὴν | ὑπὲρ θεῶν μὲν διάθεσιν ἀφανίζεις,  
 20 δῶσω || σοὶ μὴ μεταβαλομένωι | πείραν ἡδικη[μέ]νον θυ[μ]οῦ · φυτουρ-  
 25 γοὺς γάρ [ι]εροὺς Ἀπόλλωνος φόρον ἔπρασσες καὶ χώραν || [σ]καπα-  
 νεύειν βέβηλον ἐπ[ε]τασσες, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν | προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν |  
 [γ]νόν, ὃς Πέρσαις εἶπε | πᾶσ[αν] ἀτρέκει[ι]αν καὶ τη . | - -

This document, the authenticity of which has been challenged by Beloch (*G.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 1. 41, ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 154 f.), is apparently a translation into the *κοινή* of a text in the Ionic dialect, of which traces survive in the ending of Ὑστράσπεω (l. 3), the construction of πειθαρχεῖν with a genitive (l. 6 : cf. E. Nachmanson, *Eranos*, x. 201 ff.), and the words σκαπανεύειν (l. 25) and ἀτρέκεια (l. 29). The Ionic text was itself presumably a translation of the original rescript of Darius.

Gadatas (the name recurs in Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 3. 10 ff.) seems to have been satrap of the Ionian province (Hdt. iii. 90) and may well have resided at Magnesia, as did Oroites (Hdt. iii. 122). Darius praises him for cultivating in western Asia

Minor the fruit trees of Syria (πέραν Εὐφράτου in l. 10 may best be so interpreted), but threatens him with punishment for levying a tax from the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to till profane soil, regardless of the attitude shown to the god by the Achaemenid kings (for Persian religious toleration see *C.A.H.* iv. 187 f.). The attention paid by the Persian kings to the cultivation of trees and crops in their realm is emphasized by Xen. *Oec.* iv. 8. The phrases βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (l. 1) and τάδε λέγει (l. 4; cf. G. Rudberg, *Eranos*, xi. 175 f.) as well as the term δοῦλος applied to a satrap (l. 4) agree with the usage of Darius as shown in the Behistun inscription: with the phrase used in ll. 15-17 compare Thuc. i. 129. 3 κείταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐς αἰεὶ ἀνάγραπτος, Hdt. viii. 85 and *Esther*, vi. 1, 2.

We cannot determine at what time in Darius' reign (521-486 B.C.) this letter was written; there seems no conclusive reason for dating it after the failure of the Ionian Revolt.

## 11

## Athenian Decree relating to Salamis:

## late sixth Century B.C.

Six fragments of a stele of Pentelie marble found on the Acropolis: now in the National Museum at Athens. The stele tapers upwards and the lines of the text read vertically downwards (B. Graef, *Ath. Mitt.* xv. 24).

Archaic Attic writing. Ll. 1-6 are engraved στοιχηδόν; in ll. 7-12 the letters are more widely spaced. Phot. in *Ath. Mitt.* xxiii, Pl. x; Kern, *I. G.* 12.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 1 (and p. 302) + See also Hicks-Hill, 4 + Cf. A. Mommsen, *Philol.* lxiv. 506 f.; Beloch, *G. G.* i<sup>2</sup>, Nachtrag, 13 f.; S. Luria, *C. R. A. Sci. Russ.* 1924, 134 ff., *Klio*, xxi. 68 ff., *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 313, *Hermes*, lxii. 270 ff.; G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* liv. 49 ff., 570 f., lv. 564; *S. E. G.* iii. 1.

Ἔδοχσεν τῷ δῆμῳ· τ[ὸν δ' Σ]αλαμ[ῖνι κληρούχους] οἰκεῖν ἐὰ  
 Σαλαμῖνι [αἰεὶ · π]λὴν [ἐὰν ἀδύνατοί ᾧ]σι τε[λ]εῖν καὶ στρα[τεύεσθ]αι,  
 : τ[ὴ] σφετέραν γῆ· μ[ὴ] μ[ισθ]οῦν · ἐὰ μὴ οἰκ[ῇ ἐκεί]ο [κληρούχος,  
 5 τὴν γῆ]ν δὲ μισθῶι, ἀποτί[νειν τὸ] μισθούμενον καὶ τὸ μ[ισθ]οῦντα  
 ἑκάτερον τὸ τριπλάσιον τοῦ μισθοῦ] ἐς δη[μόσιο]ν · ἐσπράτειν δὲ  
 τὸν ἄ[ρχο]ντα, ἐὰν [δὲ μή, εὐθ]ύ[ν]εσθαι · τ[ὰ] δὲ [τό]πλα π[αρέχ]εσθαι  
 10 ἀπὸ : τ[ὴ] ρι[δικ]οντα : δρ[αχμῶν], ὅ[πλ]ι[ζει]ν δὲ τ[ὸν] ἀρχο[ντα] : Ταῦτ'  
 ἔδοχσ]εν : [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς Β[- - - ἀρχῆς].

The doubling of consonants is strictly avoided, even when produced by the assimilation of the final letter of a word to the first of the following word. Thus *ἔαν Σαλαμῖνι* becomes *ἔας Σαλαμῖνι* and this in turn *ἔα' Σαλαμῖνι* (l. 2).

This Athenian decree, the earliest which has survived, is unfortunately so mutilated as to be incapable of certain restoration, and there is a grave divergence of opinion among scholars regarding its nature and its date. I follow in the main, though not without hesitation, the restoration proposed by Luria, who accepts De Sanctis' *αίεί* in l. 2. I retain, however, the *ἐσπράτειν* (l. 7) and *εὐθύνεσθαι* (l. 8) of *I.G.* in preference to Luria's *πράτειν* and *εὐθυνέσθω* (the imperative does not occur elsewhere in the inscription) and write *τὸ τριπλάσιον τοῦ μισθοῦ* in l. 6, where Luria leaves a blank, since the restoration given in *I.G.*, *τὸ διπλάσιον τ. μ.*, is too short by one letter.

According to this text, the Athenian *δῆμος* [note the absence of any reference to the *βουλή* in the opening formula: cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 3. 16, 4. 26] (a) confirms the right of the cleruchs settled in Salamis to reside there permanently, (b) prohibits them from leasing their holdings save in the event of financial or physical incapacity [with *ἀδύνατοι* *ᾧσι* cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 3. 20, 4. 21, Arist. *Politics*, ii. 1266 b 20, and for this whole clause see *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 30 as restored by Luria, *S.E.G.* iii. 73], (c) prescribes a penalty for the infraction of this rule, to be exacted by the archon both from the lessor and from the lessee, and (d) enacts that the archon shall provide each cleruch with armour at a cost of 30 drachmas. If, with Cavaignac and Groh (*Hermes*, liv. 112), we read in ll. 9, 10 *π[αρέχουσ]θα[ι] ἢ τίνειν τ[ρι]τάκ[ον]τα : δ[ραχμὰς]*, the meaning will be that the cleruch must supply his own suit of armour or receive it from the archon on payment of 30 drachmas. The closing phrase dates the decree, probably by the name of the eponymous archon (cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 3. 16, 4. 26): Luria suggests *Β[ουλαρχίδου]* or *Β[ρυσωνίδου]* as suiting the space, but we cannot be sure that l. 12 was filled.

De Sanctis restores in l. 2 [*αίεί, π[λὴν] ἢ μετὰ δημόται[σι]*, holding that the decree is closely connected with Clisthenes' organization of the Attic demes and gives the cleruchs per-



mission to leave their demes and make their permanent home on Salamis, subject only to the payment of taxes and the rendering of military service with the demesmen. But *μετά* in sense 'with' always takes the genitive in Attic, and if this interpretation is retained *παρά* must be read for *μετά* (cf. *G.A.I.* 219).

Most scholars, following Wilhelm and Judeich, think that the decree relates to the native Salaminians, whose tenure of their lands is confirmed subject to certain stipulations here laid down.

The document belongs, to judge from the writing, to the latter part of the sixth century, but whether it dates from the rule of the tyrants, as Luria believes, or shortly after the reforms of Clisthenes, as is maintained by De Sanctis, cannot be certainly determined on the evidence at our disposal.

For the Athenian capture of Salamis see Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 217, note 2; K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, 168 ff.; I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, 249 ff.

## 12

### Athenian Victory over Boeotia and Chalcis: 506 B.C.

Block of dark Eleusinian stone, found near the Propylaea.

Archaic Attic writing, not *στοιχηδόν*. Facs. in *Imag.* 73. 22.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 394 + Janell, 125; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 9; E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica*, v. Simon. fr. 100 a.

[Δεσμῶι ἐν ἀχλυσέντι σιδηρέωι ἔσβεσαν ὕβ]ριν·  
παῖδε[ς Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ]·  
[ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες]:  
τῶν ἑπ[ὶ] π[ρ]οῦς δ[ε]κάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν].

For commentary see No. 43.

## PART II

### THE PERSIAN WARS

#### 13

##### Memorials of Callimachus: 490 B.C.

Eight fragments of an Ionic column of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis.

Early Attic writing.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 609 + Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 10.

[Καλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθηκεν Ἀφιδναῖος τὰ θεναιαίαι·  
 ἀν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτων, 'οἱ Ὀ[λύμπια δώματ'] ἔχουσιν.

[Καλίμαχος πολέ]μαρχος Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἀγῶνα·  
 τὸν Μῆ[δων τε καὶ Ἑ]λλήνων ὥ[ρινε μέγιστον·]  
 παισὶν Ἀθηναίων Μα[ραθῶνος ἀν] 'ιερόν ἄλσος].

Each of these two epigrams occupies a single line. The restorations here given (following *I.G.*, *loc. cit.*) are not all certain, but probably represent the sense of the original.

At some time before the battle of Marathon, Callimachus dedicated to Athena a statue of Hermes (for ἄγγελος ἀθανάτων cf. *Hymn. Hom. in Merc.* 3). To commemorate his part in the campaign and his death in the hour of victory (*Hdt.* vi. 109, 114: cf. *P.A.* 8008, *R.E.* x. 1644 f.), the second epigram was subsequently engraved on the same monument.

In Ἑλλήνων, and presumably also in Καλίμαχος, the old custom of writing single instead of double consonants is still followed (cf. *G.A.I.* 93 ff.): the Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος is mentioned also in the epitaph of Aeschylus (*Preger*, 39).

#### 14

##### Athenian Thank-offering for Marathon: 490 B.C.

On eight fragments of a long limestone base in front of the S. wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.

Attic alphabet. The extant inscription, though employing the old letter-

forms, dates at the earliest from the late fourth, and more probably from the early second, century B.C. (H. Pomtow, *R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1287 ff.). Phot. in *Fouilles*, iii. 2, Pl. i.

*S.I.G.* 23 b + Janell, 126. Cf. H. Pomtow, *Arch. Anz.* xiii. 43 ff.

Ἀθηναῖοι τ[ῶ]ι Ἀπόλλων[ι ἀπὸ Μήδ]ων ἀκ[ροθ]ίνα τῆς Μαραθ[ῶ]νι μ[άχης].

For the Athenian Treasury see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 279 ff., G. Colin, *Fouilles*, iii. 2. No. 1, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner, *Pausanias*, iii. 697 ff., H. Pomtow, *R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1280 ff. The original inscription, of which a few letters have been deciphered by A. D. Keramopoulos (*S.I.G.* 23 a), was re-engraved on the occasion of a later extension and alteration of the base: the letters were then more widely spaced and the text was slightly modified.

Pausanias states (x. 11. 5) that the Treasury was ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων ὁμοῦ Δάτιδι, and in this view the French excavators of Delphi concur, arguing on historical, linguistic and archaeological grounds that the inscription records the dedication of that building together with the base and the terrace on its southern side. Pomtow and other German scholars, however, regard the building as erected earlier than the battle of Marathon, probably about 510–506 B.C., and hold that the inscription relates to a series of statues and some Persian spoils resting upon the inscribed base.

## 15

## Ostracism at Athens: 487 ff. B.C.

Six potsherds, found (a, c) E. of the Parthenon among the debris due to the Persian sack of the Acropolis, (b, f) on the Acropolis, (d) by the Piraeus road, (e) N.W. of the Areopagus: with the exception of (d), which is missing, they are now in the National Museum at Athens.

Scratched on the surface of the pottery in Attic letters. Phot. of (a–c, e, f) in *Ath. Mitt.* xl, pl. 1, facs. of (d) *ibid.* p. 6; phot. of (e) in Kern, *I.G.* 18; facs. in *Imag.* 73. 25 ff.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 908–10 + Roberts-Gardner, 392–4; Janell, 38–40.

(a) Μεγακλῆς: Ἱπποκράτους: Ἀλωπεκῆθε.

(b) [Μ]εγακλῆς | [Ἱ]πποκρά[τους].

(c) Χσάνθιππος | Ἀρρίφρονος.

- (d) Χσάνθιππος | Ἀρρίφρ  
 (e) Θεμισθοκλῆς | Φρεάρριος.  
 (f) [Θεμιστο]κλῆς Φρ[εάρριος].

Among votes recorded in a popular assembly we naturally find considerable variety. The letters used are of various types; in (a) the writing runs spirally from the margin to the centre; (d), and perhaps also (b), was left unfinished; in (d) the second line precedes the first (cf. Wilhelm, *Beitr.* 3 ff.); persons, again, are indicated in different ways, with or without patronymic and demotic (cf. Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* ii. 169 ff.).

Megacles, brother of Agariste and uncle of Pericles, was ostracized in the spring of 486 (Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 22. 5). It is doubtful whether he is the same as Megacles, Alcibiades' maternal grandfather, who also was ostracized ([Andoc.] iv. 34, Lysias xiv. 39); for Isocrates (xvi. 26) speaks of this latter Megacles as son of Cleisthenes, and if that is so he will have been his namesake's cousin. See J. Toepffer in *R.E.* i. 1517, 1561.

Xanthippus, Pericles' father, was ostracized in the spring of 484: πρῶτος ὡστρακίσθη τῶν ἀπωθεν τῆς τυραννίδος Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος, writes Aristotle (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 22. 6). For the spelling Ἀρίφρων see *S.I.G.* 27, note 2.

The votes against Themistocles may have been given in the spring of 483 or 482 (cf. Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* i. 25 f.; Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 651), when Aristides was ostracized, or on the later occasion, perhaps in 471 or 470 (cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 112, Meyer, *G.A.* iii. 519), when Themistocles himself was similarly removed (Thuc. i. 135. 3). None of these ostraka, however, can be dated with certainty, for at any ὡστρακοφορία a citizen was free to record his vote against anyone he pleased and was not restricted to two or more specified 'candidates'. For the spelling Θεμισθοκλῆς see *G.A.I.* 103.

For the institution of ostracism see J. Carcopino, *Histoire de l'ostracisme athénien*, Paris, 1909, Busolt, *Gr. St.* 884 ff. For ostracism in the Periclean age cf. No. 45.

## 16

**Epitaph of the Corinthians who fell at Salamis: 480 B.C.**

Marble slab found at Ambelaki on the island of Salamis: now in the National Museum, Athens.

Archaic Corinthian alphabet. Phot. in *Imag.* 44. 8, Kern, *I. G.* 9.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 927 + Wilamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, i. 146, ii. 102; Janell, 222; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 20. Cf. C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 144; Powell-Barber, ii. 51.

[Ω ξεῖνε, εὔνδρ]όν ποκ' ἐναίομεσ ἀστυ Κορίνθω,  
[νῦν δ' ἄμ' Ἀἶα]ντος [νῆσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς].

After the battle of Salamis the Corinthians buried their dead, by permission of the Athenians, on the island and set up this epitaph over them, while they also erected a cenotaph at the Isthmus (Plut. *De mal. Herod.* 39). The epigram is attributed to Simonides in [Dio Chrysostom], xxxvii. 18, and he may well have been its author (cf. *Anth. Pal. App.* ii. 4, E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 93): there, however, and in Plutarch (*loc. cit.*) the text has been corrupted and a second couplet has been added,

Ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες  
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥύομεθα

([Dio] has *ρεῖα* δέ and Ἑλλάδ' ἰδρυσάμεθα), which was certainly not engraved on the stone but constitutes a later addition. Cf. No. 20.

## 17

**Gelo's Thank-offering for Himera: 480 B.C.**

A limestone base, on which a tripod once rested, N.E. of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, at the head of the Sacred Way.

Syracusan alphabet in ll. 1-3, Delphian (though the dialect is Ionian) in ll. 4, 5. Cf. C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 137. Facs. in *Imag.* 49. 35.

*S. I. G.* 34 + Janell, 127; Hill, *Sources*, viii. 20a (p. 439). Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Gött. Nachr.* 1897, 313 ff.; A. Taccone, *Atti Torino*, xli. 795 ff.

Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[εος] | ἀνέθηκε τῷπόλλωνι | Συρακόσιος.  
5 Τὸν τρίποδα : καὶ τὴν : Νίκην : εἰργάσατο || Βίων : Διοδώρου : υἱὸς :  
Μιλήσιος.

Diodorus tells us (xi. 26. 7), on the authority of Timaeus, that Gelo dedicated to Apollo at Delphi a golden tripod of sixteen talents' weight as a thank-offering for his victory at Himera in 480. Athenaeus (vi. 231 F) cites Phaenias of Eresus and Theopompus as stating that the Pythian sanctuary was adorned by Gelo and Hiero, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ Νίκην χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὗς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευε τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἱέρωνος τὰ ὅμοια (Theopompus *fr.* 189, ed. Grenfell and Hunt). Further, an epigram quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 152 (cf. the variant version in Suidas, s.v. Δαρειίου, and *Anth. Pal.* vi. 214, where it is attributed to Simonides) begins with the couplet

Φημὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
παῖδας Δεινομένους, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,

and Bacchylides (iii. 17 ff.) reminds Hiero in 468 of his offerings at Delphi:

λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσοῦς  
ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων  
πάρειθε ναοῦ.

A base exactly like that of Gelo has been found near it at Delphi, bearing a mutilated inscription of Hiero (*S.I.G.* 35 C), as well as two similar bases, smaller and uninscribed. For a discussion of the difficult problem of the Dinomenid dedications see especially T. Homolle, *Mélanges H. Weil*, 207 ff., R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides*, 452 ff., and H. Pomtow's commentary on *S.I.G.* 35. On the whole, probability favours the attribution of Hiero's dedication to a later date than that of Gelo, and its association with the victory of Cyme rather than with that of Himera, and the literary evidence does not conflict with this view.

Bion the Milesian metal-worker and sculptor is distinguished by Diogenes Laertius (iv. 58) from an earlier namesake, mentioned by Hipponax, who was a native of Chios or Clazomenae.

## 18

**Dedication of the Athenian Portico at Delphi: 480 B.C.**

On the stylobate of the Athenian Portico at Delphi, discovered in 1880: the inscription is 14.3 metres long and the letters are 18.5 cm. high.

Early Attic writing, ΑΕΗΘΛ (once V) ΝΝΡΖ. Facs. in *Imag.* 73. 23.

*S.I.G.* 29 + Janell, 124; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 85 (cf. p. 431). Cf. H. Pomtow, *Rh. Mus.* xlix. 627 ff., *R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1299 ff.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα [α κ]αὶ τὰ κρωτήρια  
ἐλόντες τῶν πολεμίων.

Pausanias connects the erection of this portico with Phormio's victories at Naupactus in 429 B.C. (x. 11. 6: see the notes of Frazer and of Hitzig-Blümner *ad loc.*), but the writing puts this date out of court, and the inscription cited by Pausanias in support of his view differs absolutely from that before us.

Of the theories advanced by modern scholars (see *S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup>. 3 note) only two demand serious consideration. According to von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Ar. u. Ath.* ii. 287 f., *Pindaros*, 86), followed by Homolle (*B.C.H.* xx. 615), Wilhelm (*Ath. Mitt.* xxiii. 478) and others, the portico and its inscription commemorate the Athenian victories won over the Boeotians and Chalcidians on the Euripus in 506 (Hdt. v. 77, Nos. 12, 43). True, Herodotus says nothing about a naval engagement or the capture of ships, but the Athenians may nevertheless have taken a number of Chalcidian ships on that occasion and, after destroying them, dedicated at Delphi their ornamental bronze beaks.

Pomtow, however, has argued on historical, archaeological, and epigraphical grounds that the portico and its trophies are the Athenian thank-offering for the victory of Salamis; that such an offering existed is not only antecedently probable but is borne out by Hdt. viii. 122.

The epigraphical evidence is not conclusive. In von Hiller's judgement it favours the earlier date (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 273) and Kirchhoff claimed that 'the inscriptions which still use Θ belong without any doubt to the sixth century' (*Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 94); but it is dangerous to rely upon a single criterion, and in certain

respects the writing of our present text seems later than that of the Athenian memorials not only of 506 (No. 12) but even of 480 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 763 II), and markedly later than that of the monument to Callimachus, who died in 490 (No. 13).

## 19

## Greek Thank-offering for Victories in the Persian War :

479 B.C.

Engraved on the 'Serpent Column', for which see commentary below.

Early Spartan alphabet. Facs. in *Imag.* 101. 16.

*S.I.G.* 81+ Roberts, 259; Janell, 128; Hill, *Sources*, i. 1; *D.G.E.* 11; Heikel, 28; Buck, *G.D.* 64; Solmsen, 21. Cf. R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, 46; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 153; Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 655; H. Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 54 ff.; A. Furtwängler, *Sitzb. München*, 1904, 413 ff.; A. G. Laird, *Studies in Herodotus* (Madison, 1904); A. von Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1920, 5. 4 ff.; F. Studniczka, *Zum plattäischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi* (Leipzig, 1928).

- [Τ]ο[ῖδε τὸν] | πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον |  
 5 Λα[κ]ε[δαίμονιοι], || 'Αθαναῖοι, | Κορ[ί]νθιοι, |  
 Τεγεᾶ[ται], | Σικυνώνιοι, | Αἰγινᾶται, ||  
 10 Μεγαρήs, | 'Επιδαύριοι, | 'Ερχομένοι, |  
 15 Φλειάσιοι, | Τροζάνιοι, || 'Ερμιονήs, |  
 Τιρύνθιοι, | Πλαταιήs, | Θεσπιήs, |  
 20 Μυκανήs, || Κεῖιοι, | Μάλιοι, | Τήνιοι, |  
 25 Νάξιοι, | 'Ερετριήs, || Χαλκιδήs, |  
 Στυρῆs, | Φαλείοι, | Ποσειδαῖοι, |  
 30 Λευκάδιοι, || Φανακτοριήs, | Κύθιοι, | Σίφνιοι, |  
 'Αμπρακιῶται, | Λεπρεᾶται.

After the victories of Plataea and Mycale the Spartans dedicated, on behalf of themselves and their allies, thank-offerings to Apollo at Delphi, to Zeus at Olympia and to Poseidon at the Isthmus (*Hdt.* ix. 81). The offering to Apollo took the form of a golden tripod resting upon a lofty bronze stand representing three intertwined serpents. The tripod was melted down by the Phocians during their occupation of Delphi in the Third Sacred War (*Paus.* x. 13. 9), but the column remained at Delphi until it was transported by Constantine to Constantinople, where it still stands in the ancient Hippodrome (*Atmeidan*). The level of the ground



was raised in 1630 and the inscribed portion of the monument thus remained hidden until it was again laid bare, under the direction of C. T. Newton, in 1855, after which the inscription was deciphered by C. Frick and other scholars. The history of the monument is traced in *I.G.A.* 70, where the relevant passages from ancient authors are quoted in full.

On the thirteenth coil, reckoning from below, is the laconic heading, followed by the names of those who 'warred the war', arranged on the next ten coils in triads, save that on coils 7 and 4 a fourth name has been subsequently added and coil 3 contains but two names. Thus the total number of states commemorated is 31 (cf. *Plut. Them.* 20): Pausanias (v. 23) records 27 names as engraved on the Olympian offering, but the list was probably the same there as at Delphi, and the four omissions (Thespieae, Eretria, Leucas and Siphnos) may be due to the negligence of the traveller or of some copyist.

It is uncertain where the regent engraved the boastful epigram

Ἑλλάνων ἀρχαγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσα Μήδων  
Πανσανίας Φοῖβῳ μῦθ' ἀνέθηκα τύδε

(*Anth. Pal.* vi. 197. In *Thuc.* i. 132, *Plut. De mal. Herod.* xlii, [*Dem.*] lix. 97 and *Suidas s.v. Πανσανίας* it appears in the *κοινή* and the third person), which the Spartans promptly erased (*Thuc. loc. cit.*). Perhaps it was inscribed on the uppermost of the three circular limestone steps which formed the base of the monument, and its place may have been taken later by the epigram recorded in *Diod.* xi. 33:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
δουλοσύνης στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας.

Cf. *S.I.G.* 31 *B* and note.

It is clear that the list does not refer exclusively to the engagement at Plataea, though the monument was dedicated from the booty there captured, for the six island states (ll. 20-3, 31-2) took no part in that battle; it is best to follow *Thucydides* (i. 132: cf. [*Dem.*] *loc. cit.*) in relating it to the whole of the Great Persian War, as the title itself suggests. The

order of the names appears to be determined partly by military and partly by geographical considerations: it is noteworthy that the Spartans place the name of the Athenians next to their own, a clear acknowledgement of the important part played by Athens in the recent struggle.

Of the states mentioned by Herodotus as participating in the war, Croton (viii. 47), Pale in Cephallenia (ix. 28, 31) and Seriphus (viii. 46, 48) are unaccountably absent from the list. Mantinea was omitted because, though 500 Mantineans joined Leonidas at Thermopylae, they retired before the final struggle there (vii. 202, 222) and the Mantinean force arrived too late for the battle of Plataea (ix. 77). The Eleans (l. 27), it is true, arrived even later, but their control of Olympia perhaps won for them special consideration. The Tenians, at first omitted, were later added to the list in recognition of the service rendered to the Greek cause by a Tenian trireme (viii. 82).

Arcadian Orchomenus (l. 12) is occasionally written with initial E on inscriptions and coins (*I.G.* v(2). 343 and pp. xxxvii, 68 f.), though less frequently than its Boeotian namesake.

## 20

**Megarian Memorial of the Persian War: 479 B.C.**

A slab of dark limestone, copied by Fourmont in the church of St. Athanasius at Palaiochori, near Megara; rediscovered by A. Wilhelm in 1898.

Late and careless writing, showing the influence of the cursive script. Facs. in *Jahresh.* ii. 288.

Hicks-Hill, 17+ Nachmanson, *H. G. I.* 15; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 30 (ll. 5, 6 only). Cf. Wilamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, i. 146, ii. 103; Busolt, *G. G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 601; Bergk, *P. L. G.* iii, Simon. fr. 107; Hiller-Crusius, Simon. fr. 91; E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica*, v. Simon. fr. 96.

Τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων καὶ  
κειμένων | ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων, ἀπολόμενον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, Ἑλλάδιος  
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιγρα[α]φῆναι ἐποίησεν ἰς τειμὴν τῶν κειμένων καὶ  
τῆς πόλεως. Σιμωνίδης | ἐποίηε.||

- τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Παλίῳ, ἔνθα καλεῖτε  
 ἄγνᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος,  
 τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρι Μοικάλας, τοὶ δ' ἐνπροσθε Σαλαμεινὸς  
 10 (νηῶν Φοινισσῶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἄρη),  
 τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν παιδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν  
 χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἱππομάχους ἰένε·  
 ἄστοι δ' ἅμμι τόδε (Μεγαρήs) γέρας δμφαλῶ ἀμφὶς  
 Νεισέων ἔπορον λαοδόκων ἀγορῇ.  
 15 Μέχρις ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ πόλις ταῦρον ἐνάγιζεν.

The tomb of the Megarians who fell in the Persian War of 480 and 479 B.C. is mentioned by Pausanias (i. 43. 3) : he says nothing, however, of the epigram or of the list of names which probably followed it, perhaps because these had already become illegible. Later (in the fourth or even the fifth century of our era, to judge by the writing and spelling) Helladius, the high-priest, had the epigram re-engraved, adding the attribution to Simonides (ll. 1-4) and a footnote calling attention to the annual public sacrifice of a bull to the heroes (ἐνάγιζω, as distinguished from θύω, denotes an offering made to heroes), which had continued for eight centuries or more (l. 15).

The battles in which the Megarians participated were those of Artemisium (ll. 7, 8), Salamis, Mycale (ll. 9, 10) and Plataea (ll. 11, 12), where, as Herodotus tells us (ix. 69), the Theban cavalry under Asopodorus routed the Megarians and Phliasians with heavy loss.

Helladius, or the engraver, seems to have omitted the pentameter of the third distich, which is here restored according to Böckh's conjecture : Kaibel's restoration is followed in l. 13, but even this does not produce a satisfactory distich, as the Ionic form ἀγορῇ, the use of the locative dative and the enallage whereby λαοδόκων qualifies Νεισέων (= Νισαίων) rather than ἀγορῇ are very harsh.

The spelling shows that by Helladius' time αι and ε, ει and ι, οι and υ were phonetically indistinguishable, as in Modern Greek.

## 21

## Phayllus of Croton honoured: 479 B.C.

Base of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis.

Archaic Attic alphabet, *στοιχῆδόν*.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 655 + Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 25; Michel, 1695.

[Πᾶ]σι Φάϋλ[λος ἀγῆτος ὁ | νι]κῶν τρίς [τὸν ἀγῶνα]

[τ|ὀμ] Πυθοῖ κα[ὶ νῆας ἑλώ|ν, ᾽]ὰς ᾽Ασις ἱ[ηλεν].

Herodotus, describing the Greek fleet which fought at Salamis, says that of the western Greeks Κροτωνιῆται μούνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νητί, τῆς ἡρχε ἀνὴρ τρίς πυθιονίκης Φάλλος (viii. 47: cf. Plut. *Alex.* 34). From Pausanias (x. 9. 2) we learn that two of Phayllus's Pythian victories were won in the *πένταθλον* and the third in the *στάδιον*, and that a statue of him was erected at Delphi. For his fame as an athlete see Preger, 142 +; *S.I.G.* 30; Kueppers, *Arch. Anz.* xv. 104; E. N. Gardiner, *J.H.S.* xxiv. 70 ff. and *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, 308 ff.

## PART III

### THE PENTEKONTAETIA

#### 22

#### Hiero's Victory at Cyme: 474 B.C.

Bronze helmet, discovered at Olympia in 1817; now in the British Museum, to which it was presented in 1823 by King George IV.

Archaic Syracusan writing. Phot. in *Pal. Soc. Facs.* Pl. 77 B, *B.M.I.* 1155; facs. in *Imag.* 49. 36.

*S.I.G.* 35Ba + Roberts, 111; Hoffmann, 310; Hill, *Sources*, viii. 60; Janell, 130; Nachmanson, *H. G. I.* 16; Helbing, 16; Geffcken, 71a; *B.M. I.* 1155; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 37. Cf. H. B. Walters, *B.M. Bronzes*, 250 +.

Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος  
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
τῷ Διὶ Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

After defeating the Etruscans in a naval battle off Cyme (Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 72 ff., Diod. xi. 51), Hiero dedicated part of the spoils to Zeus at Olympia in his own name and in that of his subjects. The corresponding offerings sent to Delphi seem to have been lost on the journey by shipwreck (*S.I.G.* 35Bb). Hiero assumes no title, but describes himself as any ordinary citizen might do. Τυράν' = Τυρρανά, i.e. Τυρσηνά (sc. σκῦλα). For the metrical character of the dedication see E. Norden; *Antike Kunstprosa*, i. 45, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst*, 381.

#### 23

#### Public Imprecations at Teos: about 470 B.C.

Two stelae found in a cemetery at Araka, near the site of Teos; copied by Sherard in 1709 and 1716 and by Lisle in 1716, first published by Chishull in 1728 (*Antiquitates Asiaticae*, 96 ff.). A alone was rediscovered and copied by P. Le Bas in 1844. Both are now lost.

Developed Ionic letters, except Μ; the text is divided by cola (:) into words or short phrases (see H. Jacobsohn, *Hermes*, xliv. 107f.). For the letter Τ (*B 23*) see the introductory note to No. 25.

Hicks-Hill, 23 + *Imag.* 21. 12; *G. D. I.* 5632; *S. I. G.* 37, 38; *D. G. E.* 710;

Heikel, 9; Buck, *G.D.* 3; Solmsen, 55. Cf. K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht*, 68 f.; W. Bannier, *Bl. Mus.* lxxiv. 285 ff.; D. Comparetti, *Mem. Linc.* VI. ii. 267 ff.; G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lv. 561; S. E. G. iv. 616; Ziebarth, *Seeraub*, 101.

## A

“Οστις : φάρμακα : δηλητήρια : ποιοῖ : ἐπὶ Τητίοισιν : τὸ ξυνὸν :  
5 ἢ ἐπ’ ἰδιώτηι, : κείνουν : ἀπόλλυσθαι : καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος : τὸ κεί-  
νου. :

“Οστις : ἐς γῆν : τὴν Τητὴν : κωλύοι : σῖτον : ἐσάγεσθαι : | ἢ  
10 τέχνηι : ἢ μηχανῇι : ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν : ἢ κατ’ ἡπειροῦν : ἢ ἐσαχ-  
θέντα : ἀνωθεοίη, : κείνον : ἀπόλλυσθαι : καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος : τὸ  
κείνου. |

## B

- - - απονοσ - - | ξύοι : ἐν αὐτῷ - - - |

5 “Οστις : Τητῶν : εἰς τὴν αἰσιν[μ]νήτηι : . . . . . ηι : ἢ || ἐπανι-  
σταῖτο : ἢ δι[αμά]χεται, : ἀπόλλυσθαι : καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος : τὸ  
κείνου. :

10 “Οστις : τοῦ λοιποῦ : αἰσιν[μ]νῶν : ἐν Τέωι : ἢ γῆι : τῇ Τητῇι :  
. . . . . οσαν : κ. s ἀ[ποκ]τ[ε]ίνει[ε] : . . . ]αρον : να [εἰδ]ῶς : προδοίῃ . . . ]  
15 τῇ[ν] πόλιν καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τητῶν : ἢ τοῦ[s] ἀνδρας [ : ἐν ν] || ἥσωι : ἢ  
θαλάσσῃι : ] τὸ | μετέπειτα, : ἢ τὸ] ἐν | Ἀροίῃι : περιπόλιον : . |  
20 . . . ]νου : προδοίῃ, : ἢ κίξαι] λλεῦοι : ἢ κίξας : ὑποδέχοιτο, : ἢ  
λητίζοιτο : ἢ ληίστας : ὑποδέχοιτο : εἰδῶς : ἐκ γῆς : τῆς Τητῆς : ἢ  
25 [θ] | ἀλάτης : φέροντας, : ἢ [τι κ] | ακὸν : βουλεύοι : περὶ Τητῶν : τοῦ  
ξυνοῦ : εἰδῶς : ἢ π[ρὸς] || Ἑλλήνας : ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους, : ἀπόλλυ-  
σθαι : καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος : τὸ κείνου. |

30 Οἷτινες : τιμωροῦντες : || τὴν ἐπαρῆν : μὴ ποιήσῃαν : ἐπὶ Δυνά-  
μει : καθημένον : τῶ γῶνος : Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν : καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν :

35 καὶ Δίοισιν, : ἐν τῇ παρῇ || : ἔχσθαι. :

\*Ὁς ἂν τὰς [σ]τήλας : ἐν ἡσιν : ἡπαρὴ : γέγραπται : ἢ κατὰξαι : ἢ  
40 φοινικήϊα : ἐκκόψῃ(ι) : ἢ ἀφανέας : ποιήσῃ, : κείνον : ἀπόλλυσθαι :  
καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος.

Herodotus tells (i. 168) how the Teans abandoned their city and migrated to Abdera in Thrace when successfully attacked by Cyrus' general Harpagus: some of them, however, returned later (Strabo, xiv. 1. 30), and in 494 seventeen Tean ships took part in the battle of Lade (Hdt. vi. 8). The Greek victory at Mycale doubtless freed the Teans from the Persian yoke, and they were probably foundation-members of the

Delian League: later they figure among the tributary allies of Athens (e.g. No. 38, iv. 6). It was probably at some time in the troublous interval between the Persian overthrow and the secure establishment of the Athenian power that the Teans formulated and caused to be engraved on stelae (*B* 35) curses, which were to be solemnly pronounced by the magistrates each year (*B* 29-35) against those who endangered the peace and prosperity of the community. Two of these stelae are before us, at least in part: the second was, to judge by the contents of its final clauses, the last of the series. On such public imprecations in the Greek world see Plut. *Solon*, 24; Isocr. iv. 157; E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, xxx. 57 ff.; Busolt, *Gr. St.* 463 f., 518 f.

The text of *A* is complete and certain. It curses

(a) Poisoners (ll. 1-5). [With the accusative of respect τὸ ξυνόν (= κοινόν) we may compare *S.I.G.* 144. 35.]

(b) Those who prevent the importation of corn into Tean territory (ll. 6-12). [Ἐσαχθέντα ἀνωθεοίη (l. 10) is puzzling. The rendering 'prohibeat, ne inducatur' (*S.I.G.* 37) makes it a mere repetition of κωλύει ἐσάγεσθαι (l. 7) and ignores the aorist tense of the participle: probably it means 're-export it after it has been imported'. Note the dependence of Teos upon foreign corn.]

The text of the first part (ll. 1-18) of *B* is so corrupt as to defy satisfactory restoration. Its curses are directed against

(a) Those who resist the magistrates (ll. 3-8). [Ll. 1, 2 seem to belong to a previous clause, but do not contain the usual imprecatory formula. ἀπονοσ- may be connected with ἀπονοσφίζειν or restored ἀπὸ νόσ[ου - -]; for ξύοι Bechtel suggests [βουλ.](ε)ύοι. Bannier, thinking that the reference is to the erasure of a name or names from the public list of the proscribed, conjectures [ᾠς δὲ ἐν (τῶι) - - τὸ ὄνομα | τοῦ (vel τῶν)] ἀπονοσ[τήσαντος (vel -ων) ἀπο]ξύοι, ἐν αὐτῶι [γράφεσθαι]. In l. 4 [ἡ κριτ]ῆι and [ξυνί]ῃι have been suggested; Böckh's [ἀπειθεοί]ῃ is too long and ignores the final ι. After ἐπανισταίτο: (l. 5) the copy reads ΗΔΙ . . . | ΧΗΤΑΙ, with a variant Ι-ΗΙΑΙ . . . | ΝΗΙΗΙ; most editors follow Böckh in reading (τῶι) αἰ[συμ]νήτηι. Bannier, regarding the curse as directed

against those who support officials who have exercised despotic powers or who seek to attain to their position, reads [βροηθ]ῆι (l. 4) and δι[αδέ]||χηται (ll. 5, 6). The αἰσυμητεία, an extraordinary magistracy with plenary powers, is described by Aristotle as αἰρετὴ τυραννίς (*Pol.* iii. 1285 a 31). In some states, and apparently Teos among them (*B* 8), the title was applied to an ordinary, and even an annual, magistracy (*S.I.G.* 57, note 2).]

(b) Magistrates guilty of brigandage or piracy, of treasonable designs against the community, or of other offences (ll. 8–28). [In ll. 8, 9 the copies have αἰσυμ|νωί, perhaps rightly. The text of ll. 10–18 is irremediably corrupt. In l. 10 Böckh conjectured [ῆ τ]οὺς ἀν[δρα]ς, Bechtel [ἀδίκ(ω)ς ἀν(δρ)]α]ς; in l. 11 Böckh wrote [παρ]ᾶ (τ)οὺν ν[ο]μ[ον], in l. 16 μετέ[πειτα]. Haussoullier restored ll. 15–18 thus: ῆ| τοῦ[ς]|| μετε[λθόντας] ἐ(π) | ἀρ(ω)γ]ῆι περὶ τ[ῆ]των τοῦ | ξυ|νοῦ. In l. 17 περιπό[λιον] (=‘fort’) is due to von Hiller, who accepts Bechtel’s ῆ τοῦ | λο(π)οῦ in ll. 17–18; Böckh ventured on περιγ[ευομένους]|| λοι(μ)οῦ, and Comparetti went so far as to regard the whole inscription as occasioned by a severe plague which, about 475 B.C., attacked Teos, its ports and its territory. The most recent restoration of ll. 10–12 is Bannier’s [ῆ πλε]ουσαν κ[οῦ]σα[ν] ἐ’ σ[τ]ῆνει: [κύδ]αρον να[τ]ιν εἰδ[ο]||ὼς προδο[ί]η]. Κιξάλλης = ‘brigand’ (cf. Hesych. s. vv. κιξάλ(λ)αι, κιξάλ(λ)ης, κιξαλλία): Democritus also couples the κιξάλλης with the ληστής (fr. 260 in Diels, *Vorsokratiker*<sup>3</sup>).]

(c) Magistrates failing to pronounce these curses on the prescribed occasions (ll. 29–35). [Τιμουχέοντες (l. 29) is probably a general term here rather than a specific title (but see Busolt, *Gr. St.* 357; L. Robert, *B.C.H.* lii. 167 f.). The earlier editors wrote ἐπὶ δυνάμει, ‘to the best of their power’ (cf. Günther, *Indog. Forsch.* xx. 115); but, in view of *S.I.G.* 57. 29, W. Vollgraff (*Mnemosyne*, xlv. 423) and E. Schwyzler (*Glotta*, xi. 76 f.) write ἐπὶ Δυνάμει, ‘by (the statue of) Dynamis’. Ἀγών here = the people assembled to witness a contest.]

(d) Anyone who breaks, defaces or makes away with these stelae (ll. 35–41). [For φοινικήα, ‘letters’, cf. Hdt. v. 58.]



## 24

Law of the Eastern Locrians relative to their Colony at  
Naupactus: about 460 B.C.

An oblong bronze tablet, engraved on both sides, found at Oeanthea (the modern Galaxidi): from the Woodhouse Collection at Corfu it passed in 1896 to the British Museum.

Archaic letters of the Western Locrians, deeply engraved: the lines are separated by faint guide-lines. Phot. in *B.M.I.* 954, facs. in *Imag.* 92, 1.

*S.I.G.* 47 + *B.M. Bronzes*, 262; *B.M.I.* 954 + *D.G.E.* 362; Heikel, 52; Buck, *G.D.* 55; Solmsen, 44. Cf. Hitzig, *Altgr. Staatsv.* 16; Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 300, note 3; Meister, *Rh. Mus.* lxiii. 578 f.; W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xviii. 862 ff., xxxvi. 956 f., *Rh. Mus.* lxx. 408 f.; B. Keil, *Indog. Forsch.* xxxvi. 236 ff.; F. Bechtel, *Gott. Nachr.* 1918, 397 ff.; R. G. Kent, *Textual Criticism of Inscriptions*, 17 ff.; W. Schulze, *Z. vergl. Spr.* lvii. 297.

## Front.

Ἐν Ναύπακτον: καὶ τῶνδε: ἑπιφοικία: Λοφρὸν τὸν: Ὑποκναμιδιον, ἐπ'εἰ καὶ Ναυπάκτιος: γένηται, Ναυπάκτιον ἔοντα: ὅπως ξένον: ὅσια λαυχάνειν: καὶ θύειν: ἐξεῖμεν: ἐπιτυχόντα, αἱ καὶ δέιλῃται: αἱ καὶ δέιλῃται, θύειν καὶ λαυχάνειν: κῆ δάμω κῆ φοινάνων: αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ  
5 γένος: κατ' αἰφεί: Τέλος τοῖς: ἐπιφοίκους Λοφρῶν: τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίω: μὴ φάρειν: ἐν Λοφροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις, φρίν κ' αὐτὸς Λοφρὸς γένηται τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίω. Αἱ δέιλῃτ' ἀνχωρεῖν, καταλείπων: τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἱστίαις παῖδα ἡβατὰν ἢ ὀδελφεόν, ἐξεῖμεν ἀνευ ἐνετηρίων. Αἱ καὶ ὑπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελιδύονται: ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ: Λοφροὶ τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοι, ἐξεῖμεν ἀνχωρεῖν, ὅπως φέκαστος ἦν, ἀνευ  
10 ἐνετηρίων. Τέλος μὴ φάρειν μηδὲν: ὅτι μὴ μετὰ Λοφρῶν τῶν φεσπαρίων.

Α: Ἐνορρον τοῖς ἐπιφοίοις ἐν Ναύπακτον: μὴ ποστᾶμεν: ἀπ' Ὀ(πο)ντίων | τέκναι καὶ μηχαναῖ: μηδὲ μιᾷ: φερόντας τὸν ὄρρον ἐξεῖμεν, αἱ καὶ δέιλῃται, ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριάφοντα φέρεα: ἀπὸ τῷ ὄρρω ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας Ὀποντίοις: Ναυπακτίων καὶ Ναυπακτίοις Ὀποντίους.

15 Β: Ὅσστις καὶ λιποτελέη | ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ: τῶν ἐπιφοίων, ἀπὸ Λοφρῶν εἶμεν: ἔντε κ' ἀποτελεσῇ: τὰ νόμια Ναυπακτίοις.

Γ: Αἱ καὶ μὴ γένος ἐν ταῖς ἱστίαις: ἦι, ἢ ἡ χάμων: τῶν ἐπιφοίων: ἦι ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Λοφρῶν: τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίω, τὸν ἐπ'ἀνχιστον: κρατεῖν Λοφρῶν, ὅπως κ' ἦι, αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἱ κ' ἀνὴρ ἦι ἢ παῖς, τριῶν μηνῶν: αἱ δὲ μή, τοῖς Ναυπακτίοις: νομίους χρῆσται.

20 Δ : 'Ε' Ναυπάκτω ἀνωρέ||οντα : ἐν Λοφροῦς τοὺς Ὑποκναμιδίους :  
ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ : καρῦξαι ἐν τὰ|γοράι : κῆν Λοφροῖς : τοῖς(ς) Ὑποκνα-  
μιδίοις : ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὧ κ' ἦι, : καρῦξαι ἐν | τὰγοράι. :

Ε : Περφοθαριᾶν : καὶ Μυσαχέων : ἐπεὶ κα Ναυπάκτ(ο)ς : γένηται :  
αὐτός, καὶ τὰ χρήματα : τὴν Ναυπάκτῳ : τοῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ χρήσται, :  
25 τὰ δ' ἐν Λοφροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις : χρήματα τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδί|οις :|

### Back.

νομίοις χρήσται, : ὅπως ἡ πόλις φεκάστων νομίζει : Λοφρῶν τῶν  
Ὑποκ|ναμιδίων. : Αἴ τις ὑπὸ τῶν νομίῳν τῶν ἐπιφοίων : ἀνωρένη  
Περφοθαριᾶν καὶ Μυσαχέων, : τοῖς αὐτῶν νομίοις : χρήσται : κατὰ  
πόλιν φεκάστους. :

Ε : Αἴ κ' ἀδελφεοὶ ἔωντι : τῷ ὕ Νάυπακτον φοικέοντος, : ὅπως καὶ  
30 Λοφρῶ||ν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : φεκάστων νόμος ἐστί, : αἴ κ' ἀποθάνη,  
τῶν χ|ρημάτων κρατεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφοιον, τὸ κατιζόμενον κρατεῖν. :

Ι : | Τοὺς ἐπιφοίους : ἐν Νάυπακτον : τὰν δίκαν πρόδιον :  
ἀρέσται πὸ' τοὺς δ|ικαστήρας : ἀρέσται : καὶ δόμεν : ἐν Ὀπόεντι  
κατὰ φέος αὐταμαρὸν : Λοφ|ρὸν τὸν Ὑποκναμιδίου. : Προστάταν κατα-  
35 στάσαι : τῶν Λοφρῶν τῷπιφ||οίῳι : καὶ τῶν ἐπιφοίων τῷ Λοφρῶι, :  
οἰτινές κα' πιατές ἔντιμοι es :

Η : Ὑ|σσ|τις κ' ἀπολίπη : πατέρα καὶ τὸ μέρος : τῶν χρημάτων  
τῷ πατρί, : ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπογένηται, : ἐξέμεν ἀπολαχεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφοιον :  
ἐν Νάυπακτον. :

Θ : Ὑ|σσις : κα τὰ φεφδηρότα : διαφθείρη : τέχνη καὶ μηχανᾷ :  
κα|ὶ μῖαι, : ὅτι κα μὴ ἀνφοτάρους : δοκέη, : Ὑποπνίων : τε χιλίων :  
40 πλῆθ|αι καὶ Ναυπακτίων : τῶν ἐπιφοίων : πλῆθαι, : ἄτιμον εἶμεν :  
καὶ χρή|ματα παματοφαγεῖσται : τῶνκαλειμένῳι : τὰν δίκαν : δόμεν τὸν  
ἀρ|χόν, : ἐν τριάφοντ' ἀμάραις : δόμεν, : αἴ κα τριάφοντ' ἀμάραι :  
λείπωντ|αι τὰς ἀρχᾶς : αἴ κα μὴ διδῶι : τῷ ἐνκαλειμένῳι : τὰν  
δίκαν, : ἄτιμον εἶμεν : καὶ χρήματα παματοφαγεῖσται, : τὸ μέρος μετὰ  
45 φο||ικιατᾶν : διομόσαι ὄρφον : τὸν νόμιον : ἐν ὕδριαν : τὰν ψάφιξ|ξιν  
εἶμεν. : Καὶ τὸ θέθμιον : τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις Λοφροῖς : ταῖ|τὰ τέλεον  
εἶμεν : Χαλείοις : τοῖς σὺν Ἀντιφάται : φοικηταῖς.

We have before us a copy of a statute (θέθμιον, l. 46) passed by the Eastern Locrians to define the conditions on which certain of their number were to go as colonists (ἐπίφοιοι) to Naupactus in Western (or Ozolian) Locris. The E. Locrians

are here called Ὑποκνημίδιοι, from the mountain range Κνημῖς which traverses their territory: elsewhere they are also named Ἐπικνημίδιοι, or Ὀπούντιοι, from the town of Opus, which formed their political (ll. 11, 13, 14, 39) and judicial (l. 33) centre (cf. Oldfather in *R.E.* xiii. 1157 ff.).

The object of the colony is not indicated, but may have been to strengthen the Locrian hold upon a position of great strategic importance in view of the possible designs of the Athenians or the Aetolians (l. 8).

The character of the writing (A. Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 146) and of the style forbids our assigning the law, with W. Vischer (*Rh. Mus.* xxvi. 39 ff.), to a date later than the close of the Peloponnesian War, and, since it is unlikely that the colony was sent to Naupactus during its tenure by the Messenians under Athenian auspices (c. 458-404), we shall probably be right in dating it in, or shortly before, 460 B.C. The use of the W. Locrian alphabet and the place at which the tablet was discovered suggest that it was originally made and exhibited at Chaleum, a number of whose citizens participated in the enterprise (ll. 46, 47).

The text, which has no preamble and bears no date (cf. Nos. 5, 34), consists of an opening section followed by nine paragraphs bearing the letters A to Θ in succession. A fairly close translation will probably prove the most useful form of commentary.

For the dialect see Bechtel, *G.D.* ii. 3 ff., and Buck, *G.D.*, p. 144: for ἀρέσται (= ἀρέσθαι) cf. R. McKenzie, *Cl. Qu.* xv. 187 f.

‘The colony (shall go) to Naupactus (ἐν = ἐς) on these terms (κατὰ τῶνδε = κατὰ τῶνδε = κατὰ τὰδε). The Hypocnemidian Locrian [perhaps τῶν Ὑποκνημιδίων should be read, as in l. 6], after becoming a Naupactian, may, being a Naupactian, participate in social life (δῶσια) and offer sacrifice as a ξένος [δῶ may be taken as δῶως or as a local adverb: Meister writes δῶω ξένον δῶσια and interprets ‘so far as religion allows a stranger (to do so)’] when he is present, if he so desire; if he desire, he shall sacrifice and participate in the rites both of a commune and of societies, he and his family, for ever, [κῆ = καὶ ἐκ: ‘a commune’, because the E. Locrians were divided into

a number of communes or 'demes']. The colonists of the Hypocnemidian Locrians shall pay no tax among the Hypocnemidian Locrians until ( $\phi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu = \pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ ) any one of them again becomes a Hypocnemidian Locrian. If he desire to return [i.e. if the colonist wishes to return to E. Locris. We may read  $\alpha\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\tau'$  (=  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ) or  $\alpha\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\tau'$  or  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\langle\kappa\alpha\rangle\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\tau'$  : cf. l. 27] leaving in his home an adult son or brother [some editors read  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu;\tau\alpha$ , supposing the colon to be wrongly inserted; but  $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ .\tau\ .\acute{\iota}$ . may be taken as an accusative of respect], he may do so without (payment of) entry fees. If the Hypocnemidian Locrians are driven out perforce from Naupactus, they may return, each to his former home, without (payment of) entry fees. They shall pay no tax save in common with the Western Locrians.

I. The colonists to Naupactus (are) under oath not to break away from the Opuntians of their own will on any pretext or by any device whatsoever. Thirty years after the (original) oath it shall be lawful, if they desire, for a hundred men of the Naupactians to administer the oath to the Opuntians, and the Opuntians to the Naupactians.

II. If any of the colonists leave Naupactus without paying his taxes, he shall be (shut out) from the Locrians until he have paid his lawful debts to the Naupactians.

III. If there be no (member of the) family in the home or heir ( $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$ ) among the colonists of the Hypocnemidian Locrians at Naupactus, the next of kin among the Locrians, whencesoever he be, shall take possession, going in person, whether he be man or boy, within three months; otherwise, the Naupactian laws shall be observed.

IV. Any one returning from Naupactus to the Hypocnemidian Locrians shall make proclamation in the market-place at Naupactus, and among the Hypocnemidian Locrians he shall make proclamation in the market-place in the city whence he comes ( $\tilde{\omega} = \delta\theta\epsilon\nu$ ).

V. When any of the Percothariae and Mysacheis himself becomes a Naupactian [Solmsen proposed  $\text{Ναυπάκτι}\langle\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\iota\rangle\varsigma$ . The P. and M. were two clans or castes, possibly sacerdotal (if the names are connected with  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ),

which in E. Locris stood on a different legal footing from the other citizens], his property too at Naupactus shall be subject to the laws at Naupactus [or we may write γένηται, αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα . . . χρήσται, though we should expect αὐτόν as in l. 4], but his property among the Hypocnemidian Locrians shall be subject to the laws of the Hypocnemidians, as the law stands in the city of the Hypocnemidian Locrians in each several case. If any of the Percothariae and Mysacheis return under the laws governing the colonists [i.e. under §§ II, IV *supra*: Dittenberger and others take ὑπό as = 'from under'], each one shall be subject to his own laws in his several city [i.e. their special privileges or disabilities, which disappeared while they were at Naupactus, shall again become operative on their return to E. Locris].

VI. If he who goes to the colony at Naupactus have brothers, if he [i.e. one of the brothers left behind in E. Locris] die, the colonist shall, according to the laws of the Hypocnemidian Locrians in each several case, take possession of the property, take possession, that is, of his due share [τὸ κατιφόμενον is probably an accusative of respect: Dittenberger reads τῷ κ. and explains the phrase as = οὗ προσήκόν ἐστι κρατεῖν].

VII. The colonists to Naupactus shall enjoy precedence in legal suits before the judges: the Hypocnemidian Locrian shall receive and grant (a trial) at Opus on the same day so far as he is concerned [κατὰ φέος may = καθ' ἑαυτόν: Oikonomides' correction κατὰ φέ(τ)ος involves a difficulty of interpretation, and Riedenauer's κατὰ (χρ)έος, 'in case of need', unnecessarily postulates an engraver's error]. Those who are in office in the current year shall appoint a *prostates*, from the Locrians for the colonist and from the colonists for the Locrian. [This last sentence bristles with difficulties. The *προστάτας* may be a 'patron' or 'representative', such as every μέτοικος had at Athens; Hitzig, however, argues (*Altgr. Staatsv.* 49 ff.) in favour of the meaning 'surety'. The clause introduced by οἰτινές κα has been variously understood as defining either the subject of καταστᾶσαι or the qualifications of the *προστάτας*. The puzzling *πιατες*, which Meister took as

the plural of *πῖαρ*, 'wealthy', seems rather to represent *ἐπιάρεις* = ἐπὶ φέτος = ἐφ' ἔτος. Ἐντιμοί, if it refers to the magistrates, = ἑναρχοί, if to the προστάται, it means 'honoured', or, more probably, 'enjoying full civic rights' (cf. ἄτιμον in ll. 40, 43). The final *ες* seems to be an engraver's error for *ῶντι*: Meister's proposal (*Ber. sächs. Gesell.* li. 156 ff.) to see in it *ῆς*, the plural of *ἐύς*, 'good', and that of B. Keil (*Indog. Forsch.* xxxvi. 236 ff.) to read *κἀπίατες* (= καὶ ἀπιώντες) *ἐντιμοί* *ῆς* (= ῆσαν) are not convincing.]

VIII. If any one leave behind a father and leave to his father his share of the property, when (the father) deceases, the colonist to Naupactus may recover his portion.

IX. If anyone subvert these decisions [*φεραδηφόρα* from *ἀνδάνω*: cf. *ἔδος*, No. 25, l. 19] on any pretext or by any device whatsoever, save so far as is resolved by both parties, both the assembly of the Opuntian Thousand and the assembly of the Naupactian colonists [*πλήθα* (= *πλήθος*) probably refers to the whole assembly rather than to a majority: it would be otiose to state that the resolution of a body should depend upon the vote of a majority of its members], he shall be outlawed and his property shall be confiscated. The magistrate shall grant the trial to the accuser [*ἐνκαλειμένωι* is middle], grant it within thirty days, if thirty days of his magistracy are left. If he do not grant the trial to the accuser, he shall be outlawed and his property shall be confiscated, the estate together with the slaves. They [i.e. the judges] shall swear the legal oath. The votes shall be cast into an urn [i.e. the voting shall be by ballot]. And the statute for the Hypocnemidian Locrians shall be valid in the same way for the Chalean settlers (who came) with Antiphatas.'

## 25

### Halicarnassian Law relative to Disputed Property :

460-455 B.C.

A white marble stele, copied at Halicarnassus (*Budrım*) by the Earl of Charlemont in 1749. At one time it lay face downwards and served as a threshold; later it was cut in half vertically and used as the jambs of a window, and in the process two to four letters in the middle of each line

perished. Of an inscription engraved on the upper part of the right-hand side of the stele only a few letters are legible. Rediscovered by Sir Charles Newton, it is now preserved in the British Museum.

Early Ionic writing. Four times (ll. 2, 6, 16) T is used for σσ (cf. No. 23 B 23; see F. W. G. Foat, *J.H.S.* xxv. 338 ff., xxvi. 286 f., Larfeld<sup>3</sup>, 225 ff.), and the same sign probably occurred in l. 7. O has a dot in the centre, as has also Ω in ll. 41-5: thus θ and ο are now indistinguishable, though perhaps the dot of θ was originally coloured and that of the ο left plain. Phot. in *Pal. Soc. Facs.* Series 2, Plate 62; facs. in *Imag.* 23. 14.

Hicks-Hill, 27+ Some further references will be found in *B.M. I.* 886. Hill, *Sources*, iii. 287; *G.D.I.* 5726; Nachmanson, *H.G.I.* 18; *S.I.G.* 45; *D.G.E.* 744; Heikel<sup>1</sup>, 10; Buck, *G.D.* 2; Solmsen, 62. Cf. P. Foucart, *Rev. Phil.* xxvii. 216; I. M. J. Valetton, *Mnemosyne*, xxxvi. 289 ff., xxxvii. 60 ff.; W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvi. 645 f., 955; *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* p. 12, No. 4.

Τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γ]ος ἐβουλεύσατο | ὁ Ἀλικαρνατ[ε]ω[ν] καὶ Σαλμακι-  
 5 τέων καὶ Λύγδαμις ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ[ι] ἀγορῇ, μὲν δὲ Ἑρμαιῶνος πέμ[π]τη  
 ἱσταμένου, ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυ[ταν]εύ[ον]τος τοῦ Ὁατάτιος κα[ὶ]  
 Σα[ρ]ντ[ι]ώλλου τοῦ Θεικύλω ν[ε]ω[π]ο[ι]οῦ, πρ[ο]δ[ὸς] μνήμονας· μὴ παρ[α]-  
 10 δίδο[σθα]ι μήτε γῆν μήτε οἰκ[ί]α τοῖς μνήμοσιν ἐπὶ Ἀπολλωνίδεω  
 τοῦ Λυγδάμιος μνημονεύοντος καὶ Παναμύνω τοῦ Κασβόλλιος, καὶ  
 15 Σαλμακιτέων μνημονεύοντων Μεγαβάτεω τοῦ Ἀφφύσιος καὶ  
 Φορμίωνος τοῦ Π[α]ντάτιος. \*Ἦν δέ τις θέλῃ δικάζεσθαι περὶ γῆς  
 ἢ οἰκίων, ἐπικαλ[ε]ῖτω ἐν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα μηνσὶν ἀπ' ὅτ[ε]ο ὁ ἄδ[ος]  
 20 ἐγένετο· νόμῳ δέ, κατὰ[ε]ρ νῦν, ὀρκῶ[ι]σ(α)ι τοὺς δικαστάς·  
 ὅτ[ι] ἂν οἱ μνήμονες εἰδέωσιν, τοῦτο καρτερὸν εἶναι. \*Ἦν δέ τις  
 ὕστερον ἐπικαλῇ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα μηνῶν,  
 25 ὅρκον εἶναι τῶι νεομένῳ τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ οἰκ[ί]α· ὀρκούν δὲ τοὺς  
 δικαστὰς ἡμί[ε]κτον δεξαμένους, τὸν δὲ ὅρκον εἶ[ν]αι παρ[ε]όντος τοῦ  
 30 ἐνεστηκότος· κ[αρ]τεροὺς δ' εἶναι γῆς καὶ οἰκίων, οἷτους| τὸτ' εἶχον,  
 ὅτε Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Παναμύνης ἐμνημόνευσαν, εἰ μὴ ὕστερον  
 ἀπεπέρασαν. Τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἦν τις θέλῃ συγχέαι ἢ προθήτα[ι]  
 35 ψήφον ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, τὰ ἔοντα αὐτοῦ πεπρήσθω  
 καὶ τῶπ[ό]λλωνος εἶναι ἱερά, καὶ αὐτὸν φεύγειν αἰεὶ· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἦ  
 αὐτ[ῶ]ι ἄξια δέκα στατήρων, αὐτὸν [π]επρήσθαι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγήι καὶ  
 40 μ[η]δ[ὲ] ἀμὰ κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς Ἀλικαρνησσόν· Ἀλικαρνασσεῶν δὲ τῶς  
 σ[υ]μπάντων το(ύ)τωι ἐλεύθερον εἶ[ν]αι, ὃς ἂν ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνοι,  
 45 κατό[π]ερ τὰ ὅρκια ἔταμον καὶ ὡς γέγραπ[τ]αι ἐν τῶι Ἀπολλωνίδεω,  
 ἐπικαλεῖν.

In the above text, those letters are shown as extant which occur in Charlemont's copy (of which a facsimile is given in *B.M. I.* iv. p. 50), even though they have now perished. For Θεικύλω (l. 7) Ὁεικύλω is a possible

alternative (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* viii. 1469). For the restoration of ll. 7-9 see below. In l. 18 the earlier editors read  $\delta\pi' \sigma\tilde{\upsilon} \tau|\acute{o}$ ; Foucart restored  $\delta\pi' \sigma\tau[ou] | \delta$ , Bechtel  $\delta\pi' \sigma\tau[eo] | \delta$  (cf. *D.G.E.* 701 B 25):  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is masculine (Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1904, 636). In l. 20 the stone has  $\Theta\text{PK}\Omega\text{I}\Sigma \dots \Sigma$ , Charlemont  $\Theta\text{PK}\Omega\text{I}\Sigma\text{ITO}\Sigma$ ; Hirschfeld and Bannier read  $\delta\rho\kappa\tilde{\omega}[\iota]\sigma\iota$ , Dittenberger, followed by most editors, corrected as in text above. In l. 42 Charlemont has TONTΩI.

At the time of the Persian Wars Halicarnassus was under the rule of the 'tyrant' Artemisia, who served with distinction in the Persian fleet at Salamis (*Hdt.* vii. 99, viii. 68 f., 87 f.). She was succeeded by her son Pisindelis, and he by Lygdamis, who was probably his younger brother and not, as Suidas reports (*s.v.* 'Ηρόδοτος), his son (Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 2). Against him Herodotus is said to have fought with varying success, and by him the epic poet Panyassis, a relative of Herodotus, was put to death. How and when Lygdamis fell we do not know: presumably his rule ended shortly before 454, when Halicarnassus appears among the tributary allies of Athens (*No.* 30, iv. 12).

We have before us a law (ll. 32, 34) passed by the joint decision of the Halicarnassians, the Salmacitae and Lygdamis. Salmacis was originally distinct from, though close to, Halicarnassus, but later became merged in it (*R.E.* vii. 2256, i A. 1977); at this time it still had magistrates of its own (ll. 13-16), but its citizens met, at least occasionally, with those of Halicarnassus in a common gathering ( $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ) to discuss questions relating to the joint community, which is denoted by the phrase  $\text{'Αλικαρνασσεῖς οἱ σύμπαντες}$  (l. 41). Dittenberger cites as a parallel the case of the inhabitants of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus in Rhodes, called collectively  $\delta \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . Lygdamis, it may be noted, appears here without title or explanation (cf. *No.* 22). Whether the father of the  $\mu\eta\tilde{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$  Apollonides (l. 11) is the tyrant cannot be absolutely determined: tyrants sometimes secured the appointment of their sons to magistracies of state (*No.* 8, *Thuc.* vi. 54. 6), but chronological considerations are against the identification here. Panyassis (l. 15) is a common Halicarnassian name and does not necessarily point to a connexion, still less to identity, with the poet.

Lygdamis apparently exercised his rule, so far as was



possible, under constitutional forms (for similar examples see H. Swoboda, *A.E.M.* xx. 115 ff.): we need not necessarily assume that the present measure was passed after a successful revolution but before Lygdamis actually left the city. Of the *ἱερὰ ἀγορά*, in which the assembly met, we know nothing: the phrase recurs in two Thessalian decrees (*I.G.* ix (2). 1105 f.).

The dialect here used is Ionic, though the form *Ἀλικαρνασίων* appears in ll. 2, 41 and the dative plural of the article is *τοῖς*, not *τοῖσι(ν)*. This is surprising in view of Herodotus' assertion that the inhabitants of Halicarnassus were wholly Dorian (vii. 99) and that the city was at first a member of the Dorian hexapolis, from which, however, it was later expelled (i. 144). Perhaps that expulsion led to a close intercourse with its Ionian neighbours and to the adoption of their speech. In any case, Suidas is almost certainly wrong in saying that Herodotus adopted the Ionic dialect in Samos.

The following are the provisions of the law:

(a) Ll. 8-16. No real property shall be handed over to the (incoming) board of *μνήμονες* under the presidency of Apollonides and Panamyas. [The meaning is fairly certain, but the text is much disputed. *Νεωποιοῦ*, restored by Reinach, is declared by Hirschfeld to be impossible, and scholars are divided between *πρὸς μνήμονας μὴ παρ[α]δίδο[σθα]* and *τοὺς μνήμονας μὴ παρ[α]διδό[ναι]*. If the latter restoration is correct, the meaning will be that the *μνήμονες* now in office are not to hand over any land or houses to their successors for custody (cf. Valetón, *Mnemosyne*, xxxvi. 322 ff.). For the functions of *μνήμονες* in the Greek states see Arist. *Pol.* vi. 1321 b 39, Busolt, *Gr. St.* 488 f.; they were primarily the registrars of private contracts or judicial verdicts. Whether the property in question is that of all citizens alike or of the exiled opponents of Lygdamis or of the anti-tyrannic party now restored to the city is not made clear by the phraseology here used: the circumstances were too well known to the legislators to call for precise and detailed formulation.]

(b) Ll. 16-22. Claims to real property must be brought within 18 months of the passing of this law; the jurors are to administer the legal oath (probably to the *μνήμονες*) and

what the *μνήμονες* assert is to be accepted as established (*καρτερόν*).

(c) Ll. 22-32. If a claim be brought after the expiry of these 18 months, the occupier must take an oath in presence of the claimant: those who possessed the property in the mnemonship of Apollonides and Panamyas shall be deemed the rightful owners, unless they have meanwhile alienated it by sale (*ἀπεπέρασαν*).

(d) Ll. 32-41. Penalties for any attempt to subvert or repeal this law.

(e) Ll. 41-45. A charge may be brought (against anyone guilty of such an attempt) by any citizen who observes this law, as duly sanctioned by oath and recorded in the temple of Apollo. [Others, with less probability, take *ἐπικαλεῖν* to refer (as in ll. 17, 23) to laying claim to land or house.]

## 26

## Athenian Casualty-List: 459 or 458 B.C.

Marble stele (the 'Nointel' Marble) from Athens, now in the Louvre.

Attic letters, ΑΔΒΝΜΡΣΥΦ: ll. 62-70 are added in another hand, ΡΡΞΣΥΨ. Στοιχηδόν.

I. G. i<sup>2</sup>. 929 + Roberts, 69; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 80, v. 36 (ll. 1-7); Janell, 196.

Ἔ ρ ε χ θ η ι δ ο ς  
 ὅδε : ἐν τῷ : πολέμῳ : ἀπέθανον : ἐν Κύπρῳ : ἐν Αἰγ[ύ]-  
 πτῳ : ἐν Φοινίκῃ [:] ἐν Ἀλιεύσιν [:] ἐν Αἰγίνῃ : Μεγαροῖ  
 τ ο υ α υ τ ο υ ε ν ι α υ τ ο υ .

5 [σ]τ[ρα]τηγῶν	Φάνλλος	130 Ἀκρυπτος
Φ[ρόνι]χος	Χ[σέ]μιος ?	Τιμοκράτης
Π[αντ]αλέων	Ε[ύγ]είτων	Ἀρχέλας
Πολύστρατος	Ἀλ[κ]ίππος	Εὐθυκράτης
[Δρ]ακοντίδης	75 Λυ[σ]ικλῆς	Πατροκλείδ[ης]
10 . . μόστ[ρ]ατος	Κέ[λ]ευσος	135 Ἀλκμεωνίδ[ης]
. . μέας	Εὐ[θ]ύδημος	Γλαύκων
. . κλειδης	Δίκαιος	Δημόνικος
. . κράτης	Φιλ[ί]πος	Ἀναχσίδωρος
[Χα]ιρέδημος	80 Καλλικλῆς	Γλαύκων
15 . . ησίας	Ναυσικλῆς	140 Προκλῆς

.. ἥσανδρος	Τ[ι]μησίθεος	Ἀντιφῶν
[Λυ]κόφρων	[Μυ]ησιγένης	Ἀναχσίλα[s]
[Ἀ]πολλόδωρος	Π[ο]λυκλῆς	Ἀρχέπολι[s]
Ἀριστοτέλης	85 Ἀλ[ε]χσίας	Καλλίας
20 [Π]ρωίας	Ἀμύδιριπος	145 Θαλιάρχ[ο]ς
Δράκαλος	Ἀπολλόδωρος	Φιλώνυχ[ο]ς
Μηχανίων	Γοργίας	Εὐκλείδης
Φιλιστίδης	Νόθαρχος	Διόδωρος
Τιμογένης	90 Παρμον[ι]δης	Νίκαρχος
25 Χαρίσανδρος	Βάκων	150 Ἐπιτέλης
[Μ]ενεκλῆς	Πίθων	Κύβων
[Μ]ελάνωπος	Λυσίας	Χ[α]μρίας
Κλεόμβροτος	Σώστρατος	Δημήτρι[ο]ς
Ἀριστοκλείδης	95 Φιλῖνος	Ἀρκεσίλας
30 [Θ]ουκυδίδης	Φίλαιθος	155 Εὐθόινος
Εὐθύδημος	Φιλέταιρος	Δημήτριος
Καλλικράτης	Σωτέλης	Γόργων
Ἀφσέφης	Λυσίας	Στράτ[ω]ν
[Ἀ]ριστείδης	100 Ἀριστογένης	Ἀρισ[τ]οφάνης[s]
35 [Φ]ιλόδημος	Φιλῖνος	160 Γλαύκων
[Κ]ηφ[ι]σόδοτος	Διότιμος	Φυσ[ω]ν[ι]δης
[Σ]οφίλος	Καλλωνίδης	Ἀγ[ν]όδημος
[Ἀ]ντιμένης	Καλλίχσενος	Διοκλῆς
[Ἐ]παίνετος	105 Δεινίας	Φανόστρατο[s]
40 Ἐργαῖος	Σμίκυθος	165 Εὐμήνιος
Διογένης	Τιμόδημος	Θε[ό]δωρος
Φρύνος	Λύσις	[Εὐρ]ύλεως
Κτησιάδης	Ἀκεσίας	[Κέ]ρδων
Κόροιβος	110 Ἐπιχάρης	[Ἐπ]ιχάρης
45 [Κ]ράτυλλος	Ἱερώνυμος	170 Ε[ὐ]δοχσος
[Σ]υνφέρμιος	Ἀναχσίλας	Π[ο]λύζηλος
[Ν]ικίας	Χαιρίας	Γ[λ]αυκίας
Λυσικλείδης	Ἡρακλείδης	Ἐπιγένης
Φρούραρχος	115 Ἀγασικλῆς	Ἀντιχάρης
50 Χαρί[σ]ανδρος	Ἀλκᾶς	175 Φιλιστίδης[s]
Ὀ[λυμπ]ιάρατος	Κηφισόδοτος	Ἀμφικλείδης[s]
Σ . . . ιος	Καλλικλῆς	Φρούρος
Μνη[σ]ίφιλος	Κηφισόδωρος	Τίτων

Σωσίας	120 Νουμήμιος	Εὐβιος
55 Ἀρχίνος	Χσενόφιλος	180 Καλλίβ[ιος]
Λυκίνος	Ἵπέρβιος	Σμίκρο[s]
Καλλίας	Ἵ Αγνω	Νεαῖος
Μησιγένης	Πολύχσενος	Ἐργοτέ[λης]
Σίκων	125 Ἐρχσιμένης	Φωκίω
60 Ἀμφικλήδης	Νίκων	185 Ἀραιθ[ος]
Χσένυλλος		

στρατηγός :	ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
Ἱπποδάμος	
Εὐθύμαχος :	Τελένικος
65 Εὐμηλος :	μάντις
Ἀνδροσθένης	
τοχσόται : Φρῦνος	
Ταῦρος	
Θεόδωρος	
70 Ἀλεχσίμαχος	

We have here the list of casualties suffered by the Athenian tribe Erechtheis in the military operations of a single year: the similar monuments presumably erected by the other nine tribes have perished. Ἐνιαυτός (l. 4) is interpreted by Busolt (*G.G.* iii. 305) as the Attic civil year 459–8 B.C.; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Ar. u. Ath.* ii. 297) and E. Meyer (*G.A.* iii. 591), however, agree in referring it to the campaigning year, ending in the late autumn, though the former dates it in 458, the latter in 459 (cf. Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 199).

The several engagements appear to be recorded in chronological order, though possibly the true sequence is observed only within each group of three names. The first group relates to the expedition which, originally sent to Cyprus, proceeded thence to Egypt to aid the revolt of Inaros (Thuc. i. 104): Thucydides tells us nothing of actual fighting in Cyprus, nor does he speak of any operation on the Phoenician coast. The second group, described by the historian (i. 105), falls in the opening year of the 'First Peloponnesian War'.

Altogether two στρατηγοί (ll. 6, 63), one μάντις (l. 128), 170 privates and four citizen τοξόται (ll. 67-70: see K. Wernicke, *Hermes*, xxvi. 71) are here commemorated. These losses are strikingly heavy, but we are not justified in assuming that all the remaining tribes suffered equally severely.

The appearance of two generals in this list need cause no difficulty. Hippodamas (l. 63) may have filled the vacancy caused by the death of Phrynichus (l. 6), or, if we take ἐνιαυτός to denote the campaigning year, Phrynichus may have held office in the civil year 459-8 and Hippodamas in 458-7 B.C. In any case, there are well-attested instances of the simultaneous tenure of the στρατηγία by two members of the same tribe (cf. Busolt, *Gr. St.* 891, note 3). We need not, therefore, emphasize the participle στρατηγῶν (l. 5) and suppose that Phrynichus was an acting, but not an actual, στρατηγός.

For the name Ἀψέφης (l. 33) cf. A. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dram. Auff.* 174, note 1. In l. 37 we may write either [Σ]οφίλος or [Σ]ώφιλος. In l. 72 the restoration X[ρό]νιος is less probable. Ll. 127-9, which are engraved in larger letters than the rest, form a single entry.

For the Athenian casualty-lists see A. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxv. 183 ff.; S. Wenz, *Studien zu attischen Kriegergräbern*, Erfurt, 1913; A. von Domaszewski, *Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1917, 7; G. Smith, *Cl. Phil.* xiv. 351 ff.; L. Weber, *Philol.* lxxxiv. 35 ff.

## 27

### Thank-offering for the Victory of Tanagra: 457 B.C.

Three contiguous fragments of a marble stele found at Olympia, and now preserved in the Museum there.

Corinthian writing. Facs. in *Imag.* 44. 11.

Hicks-Hill, 30 + Preger, 59; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 101; Nachmanson, *H. G. I.* 17; Geffcken, 80; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 46. Cf. R. Trendelenburg, *Pausanias in Olympia*, 75; Willamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, ii. 102; J. L. Heiberg, *Hermes*, xlv. 458 ff.; E. Preuner, *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 325 f.; P. Wolters, *Philol.* lxxxiv. 121 ff.

[Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέα]ν ἔχει, ἐγ δὲ [Τανάγρας]

[τοῖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμ]μαχία τ' ἀν[έθεν]

[δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθα]ναίων καὶ [Ἰάνων],  
 [τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἰν]εκα τοῦ πο[λέμου].  
 5 ----- Κορ[ινθ]ι -----  
 ----- ρ -----

After speaking of the Nike and the acroteria which crowned the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (cf. No. 65), Pausanias proceeds: ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται χρυσῇ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειρασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τοὺς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω κτλ. (v. 10. 4: see the notes *ad loc.* in Frazer, iii. 504, and Hitzig-Blümner, ii. 321). The object called ἀσπίς by Pausanias and φιάλη in the epigram was almost certainly a gilded acroterion of a well-known type (O. Benndorf, *Jahresh.* ii. 9). The phrase ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι must mean 'relating to' (not 'on') 'the shield', for the inscription is on stone, not on metal, and the inscribed stone must have been set up in the precinct in front of the temple, not on the pediment, where it would have been almost, if not quite, illegible from the ground.

We cannot determine with confidence the nature of ll. 5, 6. Presumably they did not form a third couplet, or Pausanias would have quoted it. Some scholars think that they contained a list of the Spartan allies; but Pausanias' phrase τοὺς ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ probably alludes to l. 2. Others, with better reason, believe that they recorded the name of the artist who made the φιάλη (cf. No. 65): if he was a Corinthian, the use of the Corinthian alphabet in this inscription becomes intelligible.

## 28

## Athenian Allies killed at Tanagra: 457 B.C.

Five fragments of marble, belonging to two stelae (see below): *a* was found on the Acropolis; *a*, *b*, *d* are now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, *c* is in the British Museum (*J.H.S.* xlv. 256, note 12; *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* p. 13), *e* in private possession at Athens.

Early Argive writing. Στοιχηδόν, except the epigrams. Facs. of *c* in *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* p. 13.

*I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 931-2 + *I. G. A.* 36; Roberts, 77; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 95. Cf. C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 144.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	
---	---	---	
. άτριος	... ιος	15 ..... s	
[A]ριστίων	10 .. ιος	[Φ]οίνιξ	
[Σ]φενδονίων	. υρος	[Φ]ιλέας	
[Λ]υκίνος	[Σ]ίμος	[Β]ράχας	
5 [F]αναξίλας	[A]γίς	Τελέστας	30 - - - ι μάραυ[εν - - -]
[Δ]έρκετος	Μοσ[χ - -]	20 Δαμοφάνης	
[Eχ]εμένης		Θυμάρης	
..... ις		Δαϊκλής	
		Σύλιχος	
		Δέρκετος	
		25 Λυφοδόρκας	
		Κλέων	
		Κρατιάδας	
		[Α]ίσχυλος	
		[Εν]αρχί[δ]ας	
		---	
<i>d</i>		<i>e</i>	
[— υ υ εν Ταν]άγραι Λακ[εδαιμονι - -]			
----- ι πένθο[s -----].			
----- os 'Αντ[ι - -]		---	
----- 5 Θε ---		Αίσ[χ - -]	
----- Ε ---		Δαμ[α] <sup>τ</sup> - -	
----- Ο ---		10 Παυ[τ]α - -	
		Δωρο - -	
		Μῦς Π - -	
		'Αρτε[μ - -]	
		---	

The Athenian army which fought at Tanagra was reinforced by allied contingents. Among these were a thousand Argives (Thuc. i. 107. 5, Paus. i. 29. 9) and with them a detachment of Cleoneans: those of them who fell in the engagement were, Pausanias tells us (i. 29. 7, 8), buried in the Ceramicus, the Cleoneans separately from the Argives.

Most editors have assigned all the above fragments to the

same stele, that of the Cleoneans, on the ground of the Argive letters and names, and the extant fragments of epigrams (c 30, d 1, 2). But A. Brueckner pointed out (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxv. 196) that the stones are not all of the same thickness and almost certainly belong to two stelae, one commemorating the Argives (to which we may conjecturally assign *a*, *b*, *c*, as belonging to the thicker stele) and the other (*d*, *e*) the Cleoneans.

## 29

## Athenian Decree relative to Erythrae: about 455 B.C.

A marble slab copied by Fauvel (?) on the Acropolis, near the Erechtheum; now lost.

Attic letters,  $\beta\rho\varsigma$ : the aspirate sign is occasionally omitted.

*I. G. i<sup>2</sup>. 10 + Hill, Sources, i. 125 (cf. p. 425); S. E. G. i. 2.*

- c. 7 - ἐπεστάτει, Α[- - - εἴπε· τὰ ἱερεῖα | Ἐρυθραῖ]ους ἀπά-  
(γ)ει(ν πάν)τ(α) [ἐ]ς [τὰ] Παναθήναια τὰ μ(εγ)ά(λ)α (ἄ)χσ[ια μὴ |  
ὀλείζον]ος ἢ τριῶν μνῶν, καὶ ν(έ)μ(ει)ν Ἐρυθραίων [τ]ο(ῖ)ς παροῦ-  
σ(ιν) | [τῶν κρεῶν τ]οῦ[ ]ς ἱε(ρ)οπο[ι]οῦς (δραχμὴν ἑκάστ)ωι· (ἐ)ὰν  
5 δὲ ἀπάγῃ(τα)ι [μὲν || τὰ ἱερεῖα μ] (ἢ) ἄχσια [δ]ὲ τ(ρι)ῶ(ν) μν(ῶν)  
κατὰ τὰ[ ]ς[ ] εἰ[ρη]μ[έν]ε[ι]α, πρί(α)σθαι (τοῦ)[ς] ἱε[ρο]ποιού[ς] ἱε(ρ)εῖα,  
τὸν [δὲ δῆ]μον (τ)οῦ[ν] Ἐ(ρ)υ(θραῖ)ων ὁ(φείλει)ν ἀ(ν)α(γ)ρά(φ)ε[ι]-  
σθαι· τῶν δὲ κ[ρε]ῶν (ἐ)σ[τ]ω ἀ(π)ο[φ]έρε[ι]σθ(αι) τῶ(ι) βουλομένωι.  
Ἐρυθραίων (ἀ)π[ὸ] κ[υ]άμων βουλῇ(ν εἰ)να(ι) ε(ἰ)κο(σ)ι καὶ (ῥ)εκα-  
τὸν ἄν(δ)ρας· τὸν δὲ (κ)[υ]α[μ]ε[υ]θέν(τ)α (δοκιμάζειν) ἐν τῇ(ι) βουλῇ  
10 (τῇ) Ἐ(ρυθραῖ)ων· <μῇ> εἶναι βουλε[ύ]ειν μῇ[δέν](α) ὀλει(ζ)ον ἢ  
τρ(ι)άκοντα (ἔτη γ)εγονό(τ)α, δίωχσιν δ' εἶναι [κατὰ τ]ῶ(ν) ἐλε(γ)χ-  
θέν(τ)ω(ν)· βουλευεῖν δὲ μῇ ἐντ(ὸ)ς τεττάρων ἐ[ ] τῶν. [ἀπο]κνα-  
μεῦσα(ι) [δ]ὲ καὶ κατασ(τ)ῆσαι (νῦ)ν μὲν (τὴν) βουλὴν (τ)οὺς (ἐ)[πι]-  
σκ[ο]π[ο]υς καὶ [τὸν] (φ)ρ[ο]ύ(ρ)αρχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ  
τὸν [φροῦρ]αρχον· <τῶμ[εν] βουλευσύν(των) ἐ[κ]α(στ)ον (Ἐρυθ)ρᾶσι  
15 π[ρ]ι[ν] (ἐ)[ ]χ[ο]σιέναι [ἐς τὴν ἀρχ]ῃ[ν] ὁμνῦναι [τὸν Δ]ία κα[ὶ] Ἄπό(λ)ω  
καὶ Δῆμη[τ]ρα) (ἐ)παρώ(μεν)ο[ν] ἐχσῶ[ ](λ)ειαν ἐ(α)[ν]τῶι ἐπιορκοῦντι  
καὶ πα[ι]σ[ι]ν ἐχσῶ[ ]λειαν, τὸν δὲ (ῥ)ό(ρ)κον ὁμνῦν(αι) κατὰ [ἱε]-  
(ρ)ῶν [κα](ιομέ)νω(ν). τὸν δὲ βουλε(υτῇ)ν [ ] βουλ(εύει)ν (κατὰ [τὸν]  
νόμ)ον (τὸν δ)ν(τ)α· (ἐ)ὰν δὲ μῇ, εἶναι (ζ)ημῶσαι [χι]λ(ι)[σ]α(ι)ν  
(δρ)[α]χμῆσι] (κ)α(ὶ πρὸς τ)οῦ Ἐρυ(θραῖ)ων δῆμον κατα(β)αλεῖν μῇ  
20 ὀλείζον. || Ὀμν(ύ)να[ι] δ[ ](ἐ) [τά]δε [τῇν] (β)ουλῇν



- “(B)ουλεύσω ὡς ἂν [δύ]νω[μ](α)[ι] ἄρ(ι)στ[α καί] δ(ι)κα[ιδ]-  
 τα(τα) Ἐρυθραίων τῶι πλήθει καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν [χ]συν[μ]α-  
 [χ]ων, [κ]αὶ οὐκ ἀποστ[ή]σομαι Ἀθηναίων τοῦ π[λ]ήθους οὐδὲ |  
 [τῶν] χσυνμάχων τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὗτ’ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οἶ[τ]’ ἀ[λ]λ[ω]ι  
 25 π[ε]ί[σο]μ[αι], | οὐ[δ]’ αὐ(τ)ομο(λ)ήσω (ο)ὔτ’ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὗτ’  
 ἀλλω(ι) | π[ε]ί[σο]μαι οὐδὲ ἐνί, || οὐδὲ | τῶν φ[ε]ν(γ)όν[των] κατ[α]-  
 δέχομαι οὐδ[ε] | ἔνα οὗτ’ (αὐτ)ὸς ἐγὼ οὐ[τ]’ | ἀλλω[ι] π[ε]ί[σο]-  
 (μ)α[ι] τῶν ἐς | Μήδους φε(ν)γόντων ἀνευ τῆς (γ)ν(ώμ)ης τῆς |  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ [δ](ή)μου, | οὐδὲ τῶν μενόντων ἐξσελῶ  
 [ἀ]ν(ε)υ τ(ῆ)ς (γν)ώμης | τ(ῆ)ς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τ(οῦ) (δ)ήμου.”  
 Ἐὰν δέ τ(ι)ς ἀποκτ(εί)νη(ι) Ἐρυθραί(ι)ος ἕτερον Ἐρ(υ)θρ[αί]ον,  
 30 τεθ[ν]άτω ἂν [γν]ωσθῇ· (ἐ)ἂν δ[ε] φν[η] γ[ν]ωσθῇ(ι), φευγέτω  
 (ἴ)α(π)ασ[κ]αν τῇ(ν) Ἀθηναίων χσυνμαχ(ι)δα, κ[α]ὶ τὰ χρήματα  
 δημόσια ἔσ(τ)ω Ἐρυθραίων. Ἐὰν δ(έ) τ(ι)ς ἀ(λ)ώι προ[ο]ιδι[δ]οὺς . .  
 το(ῖ)ς τυράννοις τῇμ (πόλ)ι[ν] (τῇν) Ἐρυθραί(ω)ν, καὶ αὐτ[ο]ς [ν]η-  
 πο(ι)ω(ν) ἐθνατώ [κ](αὶ) [οἰ] παῖδε(ς) οἱ ἐχ(ς) ἐ(κ)εί(ν)ου, ἐρ[υ] (μ)ῇ  
 O - - - EΙΟΘΕΜΙΛΕΘ . ἔχο(ν)τες οἱ π(α)ίδες οἱ ἐχ(ς) ἐ[κ]εί-  
 35 νου ἐς τὸν δῆμον || τὸν Ἐρυθραίων καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀπο(φ)αν-  
 θ(ω)σιν· τὰ δὲ χρ(ή)ματα τοῦ ἀλ(ό)ντο[ς] κατα(θ)έντε(ς) ἀπ(α)ντ(α) [οἰ]  
 π[α]ίδες τὸ ἡ(μ)οσ[υ] ἀπο(λ)αβόντων, τὸ δὲ δη[μ]εύ(ε)σθω. Κατὰ  
 (τα)ῦτ(α) καὶ [ἐ]άν τις ἀλ(ω)ί τὸν δ(ῆ)μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων [ῆ] | τῇν  
 φρ[ο]ν(ο)ρ(α)ν τῇν [ . . . . νθ ] Ἐρυθράσι τ - - - | . . . ΕΟ τὸν  
 40 ΡΟΧΣΛΕΣ [ . . καὶ ] τ(ο)ὺς Ἀθηναίων [φρ]ον(ο)ρ(ο)ς? - - || . . . ]  
 ΝΤΑΔΕΟ . ΟΥΕΝΕΛΑΓΕΚ . . δημ[ο]οῖσι τ(ῶν) χσυνμάχων  
 - - | - c. 10 -]να μείνη τὸ (φ)ρ[ο]ν(ο)ρ(ο)ν τοχσ(ό)τ(α)ς δὲ κατα .  
 ΟΙΟΣ - - | - c. 13 - ΟΝΕΑΣ . . . ΙΟΑΣΟΟΣΙΜΑΣΤΟΣΕΙ-  
 ΝΕΥΙΣΑΝΟ - - | - c. 10 - ΓΑΡΜ . ΟΝΤΟΝΧΙ . ΟΝΚΣΘΕ-  
 ΝΑΝΕΙΗΟΡΟΓΑΟΚΙΛΛ[- - | βουλῇν τῇν] βουλεύου(σ)αν ἄν-  
 45 δ[ι]ρ(α)ς (ἴ)ε(π)τ(α) ἐ(κ) τ(ῆ)ς φυλῆς ἐκάστης, (κ)αὶ || τὸν φρούραρ-  
 χο(ν) [κ]αὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναί[τ]ων (φ)ρον(ο)ρ(ο)ς τοὺς ΕΜ . ΣΕΟΧ . .

For this valuable historical record we have to rely upon a single copy, teeming with gaps and errors; thus, despite the labours of Böckh, Kirchhoff, Dittenberger, von Hiller and other scholars, some passages defy restoration and few can be restored with confidence. In l. 9, e.g., Dittenberger read (δοκίμα)ειν where the copy has ΘΕ . ΘΕ . ΟΝ ., while in l. 19 Dittenberger wrote ἡ δ' ἂν το δῆμος δ' Ἐρυθραίων αὐτοὺς καταβαλεῖν φσηφίσηται. In l. 34 von Hiller conjectures ἀγρωθεν? ἰλέω[ς] ἔχον[τες], Wilhelm οικείας (ll. 33-4): ἐπιτηδείας seems to me a possible alternative here, and προδῶν for δῶν in l. 37. In l. 40 von Hiller has ἄτερ [τοῖς ἐπὶ]δημοῦσι and at the end of l. 41 κατα[στ]ῆσαι.

The decree has been variously dated between 470 and 450 B.C.; the character of the script does not fix the date more accurately than this, and we know neither the time nor the nature of the events which led the Athenians to take this drastic action. Erythrae, an important Ionian city on the Asiatic mainland opposite Chios, appears as a tributary member of the Athenian League in 450 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 195. v. 25) and later. Three further fragments of decrees relating to it are extant (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 11-13), dating from about the same period as that before us; one of them mentions ἐπίσκοποι, a φρούραρχος, φρουροί and τοξόται and also deals with trials, while another records the formula of an oath somewhat similar to that of ll. 20 ff. above.

In so far as the above reading and restoration are correct, we may analyse the decree as follows:

I. Prescript (l. 1). [It seems that only one line has been lost at the beginning of the text.]

II. Religious obligations of Erythrae (ll. 1-7). [With this section cf. Nos. 44, ll. 11-13, 66, ll. 55-8.]

III. Regulations regarding the Erythraean Council—its method of appointment (l. 7) and institution (ll. 11-14), the number, minimum age and δοκιμασία of its members (ll. 8-11), the restrictions placed upon their reappointment (l. 11) and the formula of the oath which each must take (ll. 14-28). [Note how the Athenians, in seeking to make Erythrae safe for democracy, lay great stress upon the βουλή; this is closely assimilated to that of Athens, although, in view of the smaller size of the Erythraean citizen body, the number of βουλευταί is less than at Athens (120, as against 500) and the frequency of reappointment is less narrowly limited. The first βουλή of the new régime is to be installed by Athenian ἐπίσκοποι (extraordinary civil officials, for whose functions see Hill, *Sources*, i. 162-4, Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1355) and an Athenian φρούραρχος; in future the outgoing βουλή is to act in this matter in conjunction with the Athenian commandant (cf. Hill, *Sources*, i. 153-8, Busolt, *loc. cit.*), whose presence in Erythrae is evidently regarded as permanent. In the oath of the Council (cf. that of the Athenian βουλή, Busolt, *Gr. St.*

1023, and that of the Chalcidians, No. 42, ll. 21-32) the dominant note is that of loyalty to democracy and to the Athenian alliance: the δῆμος of ll. 27, 28 is that of Erythrae.]

IV. Regulations regarding the administration of justice at Erythrae, viz.

(a) Murder is to be punished by death (or by exile co-extensive with the Empire) and the confiscation of the offender's property (ll. 28-31).

(b) Treason is to be punished by the death of the offender and of his children, unless the latter are proved loyal to the δῆμος of Athens and Erythrae; in this case, half the offender's property is to be confiscated and half left to his children (ll. 31 ff.).

The last part of the text is so hopelessly corrupt as to give no consecutive sense.

About the same time the Athenians regulated by decree the affairs of Colophon (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 14, 15: see the fuller restoration in J. J. E. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, 7 ff., *S.E.G.* iii. 3) and in 450-449 those of Miletus (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 22).

### 30

#### Attic Tribute Quota-List: 454-3 B.C.

On the upper part of the obverse of an immense block of Pentelic marble, for which see commentary below. Found on the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic writing, not yet fully developed (Β Ν Ρ Σ Δ), στοιχηδόν. Facs. in *A. J. Phil.* xlvii. 175.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 191 + Hill, *Sources*, ii. 1; A. B. West and B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* xlvii. 171 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* i. 7. The text given below is that of West and Meritt published in *S.E.G.* v. 1, with a few modifications due to their most recent study of the document and the insertion of some quotas for which there is evidence from this assessment-period.

[Ἀίδε ἀπαρχαὶ τῇ θεῷ παρεδέχθησαν παρ]ὰ τῶν Ἑ[λλ]ληνο-  
τ[αμιῶν, ὅ[ις] . . . . . | . . . ἐγραμμάτευε, καὶ τοῖς λογιστῇσι τοῖς]  
τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθη[σα]ν [ἀπὸ τοῦ φό]ρου, ὃν ἅι πόλεις ἀπήγαγον  
ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος ἄρχοντος Ἀ[θην]αίοις, μὲν ἃ [πὸ τοῦ ταλ]άντου]. ||

## Col. I

5 - - - - -  
 . ε - - - - -  
 . . . . . ο - -  
 . . . . . α - -  
 - - - - -  
 10 . . . . . ο - -  
 - - - - -  
 . . . . . ο - -  
 - - - - -  
 . . . . . ο - -  
 15 . . . . . ο - -  
 [Ἐλαιῖται : ΔΓΓΙΙΙ]  
 . . . . . ς - -  
 . . . . . ο - -  
 . . . . . ι

20 - - - - -  
 . . . . . ι  
 . . . . . ΓΗΗ  
 [Αἰνιοι : ] ΧΗΗ  
 . . . . . οι : ΓΓ - -  
 25 [Ὀρανῆται : Δ[ΓΓΓΓ]  
 . . . . . ς : Η - -  
 . . . . . οι : Η  
 . . . . . ῆται : ρΔ - -  
 - - - - -

## Col. II

5 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 10 Θ - - - - -  
 Π - - - - -  
 Κ - - - - -  
 Πι[ταναῖοι : ΔΓΓΙΙΙ]

Θ - - - - -

15 |Ο - - -  
 |Α - - -  
 . ε - - - - -  
 . ε - - - - -  
 . α - - - - -  
 20 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -

25 [Σαναῖοι : Ὀλο]φύχσ-  
 [ιοι : Διῆς : ΗΗ]ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 [Σαμβακτ]ύς : ΗΓΓΓΓ  
 [Χερρονησ]ῖται : ΧΓΗΗΗ  
 - - - - ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ

## Col. III

5 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 10 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - ΙΙΙ  
 - - - - ΓΗ  
 - - - - ΗΗΗΗ  
 15 - - - - Γ  
 [Μενδαῖοι : ] ΓΗΗΗ  
 [Κρυῆς : ΔΔ]ΔΓΓΓΓ  
 - - - - -  
 - - - - -  
 20 [Πεπαρήθιοι : ] ΗΗΗ  
 [Κολοφών]ιοι : ΗΗΗ  
 Νοτ[ι]ῆς : ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 Διοσερῖται : ΔΓΓΓΓ  
 Σπαρτώλιοι : ΗΗ

25 Αἰραῖοι : HHH  
 Λινδίων Οἰάται : [Δ] Γ  
 Ἀστακηνοί : H[Δ]  
 Νεοπολίται : [Δ]  
 Μαϊάνδριοι : [Δ] Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι

## Col. IV

5 [Μαρ]ωνῖται : H[Δ]  
 [Λί]νδιοι : [Γ] HHHH Δ Δ Δ Δ [Γ]  
 [Οἰ]ναῖοι ἐν Ἴ-  
 κάρωι : H Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 Ἦσσιοι : H  
 10 Νεάνδρεια : Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ [Ι]  
 Λαμπώνεια : Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι [Ι]  
 Ἀλικαρ-  
 νασσῆς : H[Δ] Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι  
 Στρεφσαῖοι : H  
 15 Γαλήφσιοι : H[Δ]  
 Κυρβισσός : Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 Διδυμοτει-  
 χῖται : Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι  
 Δ[ικ]αιοπο-

20 λῖτα[ι :] HHHH  
 Κλαζομένιοι : H[Δ]  
 Ἀργίλιοι : Χ[Δ]  
 Καρβασνανδῆς : [Δ] Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι  
 Φασηλίται : [Γ] H  
 25 Τερμερῆς : HH[Δ]  
 Κεβρήνιοι : HHH  
 Κασωλ[αβῆς : Δ Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι]  
 Δίκ[αια]  
 πα[ρ] Ἀβδηρα : [Δ]

## Col. V

5 Ἀβ[δηρῖ]ται : Χ H H [Δ] Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ  
 Ὀλύνθ[ιοι] : Σκα-  
 βλαῖο[ι] : Ἀσ]ση-  
 ρῖται : H [H H Δ Γ] Γ Γ Γ Γ

Σερμυλ[ιῆς] : [Γ] H H [Δ] Δ Δ Γ Γ  
 10 Μηκνπερ[να]ῖοι vacat  
 Στώλιοι : Π[ολ]ι-  
 χυῖται : H H Δ [Δ] Δ Γ Γ  
 Σίνγιοι : H H [Γ Γ] Γ Γ Γ  
 Θάσιοι : HHH

15 Μυσοί : Δ Δ Δ Γ [Γ Γ Γ]  
 Πίκρης Συνα[γελεύς : - -]  
 Κεδριῆται : [Δ]  
 Κεράμιοι : [H[Δ]  
 Βουθειῆς : [Δ] Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 20 Κυλλάνδ[ιοι] : HH  
 [Χ]ῖοι [ : - -]  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

25 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

## Col. VI

5 Να[ρι]σ[βαρῆς : Δ] Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι  
 Μυδ[ό]νες [ : Δ] Δ Γ  
 Κια[ν]οί : Δ [Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι  
 Ἀρτακηνοί : Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 [Ν]εάπολις  
 10 [ἐ]ν [Θρ]άκηι : Δ Γ [Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι]  
 Βερ[ύ]σιοι ὑπὸ  
 τῇ Ἰδνι : Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι  
 Αὐλιᾶται Kāpes : Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 Ἰᾶται : H

15 Παριανοί : H  
 [Δ]ασκύλειον  
 [ἐν] Προποντιδῖ : Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ  
 [Α]ἰγυνῆται : Χ Χ Χ  
 Μιλήσιοι

20	[ἐ]χς Λέρου : ΗΗΗ	25	-----
	[Μι]λήσιοι		-----
	[ἐν Τ]ειχιούσση[ι : - -]		-----
	-----		-----
	-----		-----

The tribute quota-lists, which rank among the most valuable epigraphical records of ancient Athens, form a series extending from 454-3 to 415-4 B.C., after which year the system of tribute was abolished in favour of a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on sea-borne commerce (Thuc. vii. 28. 4). They are represented in this selection by those of 454-3 (above), 449-8 (No. 38), 443-2 (No. 46), 433-2 (No. 56) and 421-0 (No. 71). The chronology is established by the fact that almost every list except the first has in its title a serial number and that that which bears the serial number 34 bears also the name of the archon Aristion, who held office in 421-0 (No. 71).

The heading of this first list is fuller than that of any of its successors in the Pentekontaetia. It is unfortunately mutilated, and scholars have restored it very variously; but it is agreed that the sums recorded are 'firstfruits' (*ἀπαρχαί*, cf. No. 71, l. 7), consisting of one-sixtieth of the tribute of each community (*μῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου*, cf. No. 71, l. 7), paid to Athena by the Hellenotamiae in the archonship of Ariston (note the addition of *Ἀθηναίους*, since the offerings recorded are imperial rather than Athenian (cf. No. 71, l. 2)) and audited by 'the Thirty', i.e. the thirty *λογισταί* or state-accountants (Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1076 f., 1133, Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 64; cf. Nos. 51, A, ll. 8, 27, 64).

The contributors are usually expressed by the plural of the ethnic (e.g. *Νοτιῆς*, *Νεοπολίται*), more rarely by the place-name (e.g. *Λαμπώνεια*, *Δασκύλειον*) or by that of a dynast (e.g. *Πίκρης Συναγγελεύς*). Sometimes a group of states unites in a single payment (*ξυντέλεια*): either they are all named (as in col. ii, ll. 25-6 above) or to the name of the leading state the words *καὶ ξυντελείς* are added (e.g. No. 56, i, l. 48 f.). In the first list the quota follows the name of the payers, separated from it by a colon; but this system does not sufficiently distinguish the

names from the sums of money, and in all subsequent lists the sums are entered in a separate column to the left of the names to which they refer.

The lists for the first fifteen years were engraved on a huge block of Pentelic marble, of which more than a hundred fragments survive; it was originally erected on the Acropolis and was reconstructed in the Epigraphical Museum by Professors West and Meritt in 1927 (*A. J. Arch.* xxxiii. 376 ff.). It measures 1.109 metres in breadth, 0.385 in thickness, and at least 3.663 in height. On the obverse are inscribed the lists of the years I-VI, on the right side those of VII and VIII, on the reverse those of IX-XIII, and on the left side those of XIV and XV. A similar, but smaller, block bears the lists of the following eight years (439-8 to 432-1), XVI-XVIII on the obverse, XIX-XXI on the reverse, XXII on the left side and XXIII on the right. This was reconstructed by West and Meritt in 1928 (*op. cit.* 382 ff.). The later lists were engraved each on a separate stele, and the problem of dating the extant fragments becomes yet more difficult and in some cases baffling.

Of the many studies which have been devoted to the quota-lists, the following are among the most important: A. R. Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* i. 236 ff.; A. Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 332 ff.; U. Köhler, *Urkunden u. Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1870; A. Kirchhoff, *I. G.* i. 226-72; G. Busolt, *Philol.* xli. 652 ff.; U. Pedrolì in Beloch's *Studi di storia antica*, i. 101 ff.; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griech. Epigraphik*, ii. 20 ff.; R. Dahms, *De Atheniensium sociorum tributis*, Berlin, 1904; Cavaignac, *Études*, xxxi ff.; A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1909, 41 ff.; D. Fimmen, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxviii. 231 ff. The results are incorporated by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *I. G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 191-231, published in 1924. Since then, very remarkable progress has been achieved by the insight and industry of A. B. West and B. D. Meritt, whose kindness has enabled me to use in this work their texts as finally revised. These have recently appeared in *S.E.G.* v, so that I may here dispense with any full bibliography of the editors' writings (cf. my brief summaries in *J.H.S.* xlvii. 187 ff., xlix. 181 f., li. 220 f.) and content myself with a reference to their reconstruction, accompanied by facsimiles, of the first fifteen lists in *A. J. Phil.* xlvii. 171 ff., *Harvard Studies*, xxxvii. 55 ff., and *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvi. 252 ff., and of the next eight in *Harvard Studies*, xxxviii. 21 ff.

During the earlier years of the Delian League, its treasury had been at Delos, and ἀπαρχαί may have been paid to Delian Apollo, though no evidence for this survives. The transfer-

ence of the treasury to the Acropolis was probably due to the fear caused by the Athenian disaster in Egypt and is said to have been carried out on the suggestion of the Samians (Plut. *Per.* 12, *Arist.* 25; cf. Hill, *Sources*, i. 51 ff., Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 204 f.).

For the first eight years, no order is discernible in the list of tributaries, but in years IX–XI a tentative geographical arrangement is apparent, and in XII (443–2 B.C.) and the following years the names are entered in five groups, entitled respectively Ἴωνικός, Ἑλλησπόντιος, ἐπὶ (or ἀπὸ) Θράκης, Καρικός and νησιωτικός φόρος (No. 46: cf. Thuc. ii. 9. 4). Later, probably in 438–7, the Carian district was amalgamated with the Ionian, and the order for at least seven years is Ionia, Islands, Hellespont, Thrace: during the Peloponnesian War the order of the four districts is variable.

In 440–39 at least eight states pay, over and above their ordinary tribute, a small additional charge (ἐπιφορά), the nature of which is not clear, and similar payments occur sporadically in the following years (cf. No. 76, l. 3).

Towards the close of the Pentekontaetia special classes of tributaries are formed. In 435–4 five cities in the Thracian district are noted as ἄτακτοι, and in the following year four of these and seven other states, all of which make their first appearance in the lists at this time, are grouped under the special title πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι (cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 207 ff.). This category reappears in 433–2 (No. 56, ii, l. 76), and again in 432–1, though then reduced to five members, three at least of which appear under a different rubric shortly afterwards (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 218, iii, ll. 45 ff.; cf. *S.E.G.* v. 25, i, ll. 34–42). The phrase is usually taken as recording the right of self-assessment enjoyed by a group of privileged communities, but E. B. Couch has argued (*A. J. Arch.* xxxiii. 502 ff.) that αὐταὶ means ‘alone’, ‘by themselves’, and that the states in question were separately assessed as a punitive measure by a process of ἀπόταξις.

In 434–3 we find a group of thirteen πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν, all of which save one occur here for the first time in the quota-lists: this category also survives



at least until 432-1 (cf. No. 56, ii, ll. 89 ff.). This rubric, too, has been variously interpreted. It may refer to the action of private Athenian citizens in giving information, on the basis of which the tribute was assessed; more probably, however, it indicates that, whereas the cities concerned did not officially enter the Delian League, groups of citizens within them made payments, probably merchants desirous of securing the commercial benefits accruing from membership of the League (Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 210, note 1, *Gr. St.* 1352 note).

In the troublous period of the Peloponnesian War other special categories make their appearance, among which we may note (a) cities which paid their tribute direct to Athenian troops in the field (No. 71, ll. 82 ff.), (b) cities which were exempted from the payment of tribute save the ἀπαρχή (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 216, i, ll. 50 ff.) and (c) cities assessed by the Council and 'the Fifteen Hundred' (*ib.* 218, iii, ll. 51 ff.).

In 422 Aristophanes estimated at a thousand the number of tributary members of the Empire (*Wasps*, 707), but this is the gross exaggeration of a comic dramatist and not the sober assertion of an historian. Only about 265 tributaries are named in the extant quota-lists, and the payments actually made in any year seem to have fallen very far short of this total. The number registered in any given list cannot be exactly determined (though we come very near to certainty in 443-2 and 442-1), for occasionally a state paid two instalments, or a tribute and an ἐπιφορά, or current tribute and arrears, while the name of a state frequently occupies more than one line. The following figures may, however, be regarded as *maxima*: 141 in 454-3, 139 in 453-2, 147 in 452-1, 157 in 451-0, 156 in 446-5, 163 in 445-4, 165 in 443-2, 173 in 442-1, 169 in 441-0, 172 in 440-39, 168 in 433-2, 134 in 430-29, 148 in 429-8 (cf. A. B. West, *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. 268 f.; *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 222, note 16). In 421-0 the number may have been about 210-20, probably in consequence of the ἀπόραξις employed in the reassessment of 425-4 (No. 66).

If it is hard to determine the number of payments made each year, it is impossible satisfactorily to evaluate their

amount. Thucydides states that Aristides' original assessment was 460 talents (i. 96: cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 79 ff.), and reports Pericles as estimating at 600 T. the average annual revenue derived from this source at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (ii. 13. 3): this latter assertion is irreconcilable with the quota-lists and we must suppose that Pericles included all revenue drawn from the Empire. My own calculations, which are in many cases merely approximate, give the following results, based on the quota-lists:—

District.	454-8.			443-2.			433-2.		
	Pay-ments.	T.	dr.	Pay-ments.	T.	dr.	Pay-ments.	T.	dr.
Ionia . . .	137	369	1690	31	49	3200	51	101	3355
Hellespont . .				26	77	880	33	74	1115
Thrace . . .				40	*76	4660	38	†121	2120
Caria . . .				45	52	100	—	—	—
Islands . . .				23	93	4300	23	85	4800
Special classes				—	—	—	21	5	1000
Total . . .	137	369	1690	165	*349	1140	166	388	390

\* If in No. 46, iii, l. 33 we restore Θάσιοι in place of Σεμῆς, these amounts must be increased by 29 T. 5500 dr.

† Max. 126 T. 5120 dr.; min. 110 T. 120 dr.

It must be admitted that these sums are surprisingly low, and that they fall considerably short even of the total of 426 T. 4550 dr. derived from *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 342. 36 (see note on No. 52), which dates from 444-3 B.C.; possibly the true restoration there is [M M M <sup>⌘</sup>] X X <sup>⌘</sup> H <sup>⌘</sup> Δ Δ Γ <sup>⌘</sup> || || ||, which would be the ἀπαρχή on a tribute of 376 T. 4550 dr.

For the reassessment of the tribute see note on No. 66.

### 31

#### Alliance of Athens and Eggesta: 454-3 B.C.

Stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Early Attic letters (NRΣ), στοιχηδόν.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 19+ Cf. *C.A.H.* v. 159; W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 269 ff.

[Συμμαχία Ἀ]θ[ηναίων καὶ] Ἐγεστα[ίων]. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τ[ῷ] δῆμῳ - 6 - ἰς [π]ρυτάνευε, [. . . | - - - ἐγραμμάτευε, - - ]ο[. . . ἐπεσάτει, Ἀρίστ]ων ἦρχε, Ἀρ[χέ]δη[μος] εἶπε - 32 -]

- 5 ταὐτὸ / . . . || - 19 - 10 - 18 - α [οἴτινες | ἔχσορκώσουσι ἀφικόμενοι ἐς  
 Ἐγεσταν ἑλεῖσθαι] τὸν | δ[ῆμον δέ] κα ἄνδρας αὐτίκα μάλα· π[ερ]ὶ δὲ  
 τ[οῦ] . . . Γ . . . ἱερά (?) ὅσομ[περ . . | - 19 - ] ον ὅρ[κ]ο[ν] ον ὁμνύ[ναι]  
 ὅπ[ως] δ' ἂν ὁμ[ό]σ[ωσι] ἅπαντες, ὅι στρατ[η]γοὶ ἐπιμεληθέντων,  
 10 παρ[α]γγ[έλ]ει . . . || - 14 - μετὰ τ[ῶν] ὁρ[κ]ωτῶν, ὅπ[ως] . . . ] ε 1 [- 7 - |  
 - 11 - τὸ δὲ φσ[η]φισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν [ὅρ]κ[ο]ν ἀνα[γράφ]σαι ἐστήλη  
 λιθίνῃ ἐμ[ὴ] π[ό]λει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς· ὅι δὲ π[ω]ληταὶ  
 ἀπομισθωσάντων ὅι δὲ κωλακρέται δό[ν]τ[ω]ν τὸ ἀργύριον καλέσαι  
 15 δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] χσένια τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Ἐγεσταίων || ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐς  
 τὸν νομιζόμενον χρόνον. υ Εὐφημος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ  
 βουλῇ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴν π[- 8 - | - 16 - ὁ κ[ῆ]ρυχς προσαχ[έ]τω  
 - 15 - | - 22 - τοὺς π[ρ]έσβεις (vel π[ρυ]τάνεις) - - -

Bannier restores [ὁμόσαι Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοῖς] δ[ικαστάς] in l. 6, and [πρώτος] μετ[ὰ] τὰ ἱερά in l. 7.

Diodorus (xi. 86) relates that in the archonship of Ariston (454-3 B.C.) κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυθαίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ. But Lilybaeum (the modern Marsala) was not founded until early in the fourth century, and Köhler was justified in regarding Λιλυθαίοις as a corruption for Ἀλικυαίοις (cf. Thuc. vii. 32), a name which is almost certainly to be restored in another fragmentary decree relative to Egesta, probably passed in the same year as that before us (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 20). But since we have no record of a war between Egesta and Halicyae, and it is unlikely that Athenian aid would have been invoked by Egesta in a struggle with so unimportant a neighbour, we may suppose that Egesta and Halicyae were united in opposition to a common foe, probably Selinus, and Beloch has proposed (*Hermes*, xxviii. 630 ff.) the insertion of the words πρὸς Σελινουντίους in Diodorus' text after ἐνέστη πόλεμος. The war began with a bloody but indecisive battle, but of its later course we hear nothing: perhaps its successful termination was celebrated by the Selinuntines in No. 37.

It is surprising to find Athens undertaking any responsibility in western Sicily at a time when the Egyptian catastrophe had just crippled her resources, and the war against the Peloponnesian League claimed all her energies. There is, however, no reason to believe that she sent any force to support her allies.

## 32

## Athenian Relations with Phaselis: about 450 B.C.

A stele of Pentelic marble, copied by Fourmont in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist on Mt. Hymettus: now in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens.

Ionic writing, *στοιχηδόν*. Phot. in 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1922, 63.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 16 (cf. p. 302) + Hill, *Sources*, iii. 55a (p. 430); P. S. Photiades, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1922, 62 ff., 79 (*S.E.G.* iii. 4). Cf. Hitzig, *Allgr. Staatsv.* No. 1; P. Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Hist. Jurisp.* ii. 157; Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1244, note 3.

[Ἐδο]ξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ[ή]μῳ, Ἀκαμαντὶς [ἐ]πρυτάνευε, |  
 5 Ὁ γράσιππος ἐγραμμάτευεν, Ἐ[πι]μήδης ἐπεστάτει, Λέω[ν εἰ] [πε]  
 τοῖς] Φασηλίταις τὸ ψ[ήφ]ι[σ]μα ἀν[α]γράφαι, ὃ τι ἂν μὲ[ν] Ἀθ[η]νῶσι  
 ξυ[μβό]λαιον γένηται [πρὸς Φ]ασηλιτ[ῶ]ν τινα, Ἀθ[η]νῶσι τὰς  
 10 δίκας γίνεσθαι παρ[ὶ] τῷ πο[λ]εμάρχῳ, καθάπερ Χ[ί]οις, καὶ  
 ἄλλοις μηδὲ ἑαυτοῖς τῶ[ν] δ' ἄλλοις ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν κατ[ὰ] τὰς οὐσας  
 15 ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φα[σ]ηλίτας τὰς δίκας εἰν[αι]· τὰς [δὲ ἐκκλή]του[ς]  
 ἀφελεῖν· ἐὰν δέ τις κατ' ἄστυ ἄρχων δέξηται δ[ί]κην κατὰ Φασηλι-  
 τῶν τινος [παρὰ τόδε, εἰ] μὲν καταδικάσ[ει], ἢ καταδίκη ἄκυρος  
 20 ἔστω· ἐ[ὰν] δέ τις παραβ[ῇ] νηὶ τὰ ἐψη[φισμένα, ὁφεί] λ[ε]τ[ω] [μυ]ρίας  
 δ[ρ]αχμὰς ἑρ[ᾶς] τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ. Τ[ὸ] δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε] ἀναγραφά[τω]  
 25 ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς [ἐστῆ] ληι λιθί[ν]η καὶ καταθ[έτω] ἐν πόλει  
 τ[έ]λεσι τοῖς τῶ[ν] Φασηλιτῶν].

The above text is taken from *I.G.*, save that I retain in ll. 6-9 the readings of the earlier editors in preference to ἀν[α]γράφαι, ὅτι, ἀν . . . . Ἀθ[η]νῶσι [οἱ] δὲ δίκας γίνεσθαι. In l. 18 I accept Photiades' παρὰ τόδε in place of Kirchner's παρόντος. In l. 20 Photiades restores ἐτι or εἰς for τις.

This decree regulates the procedure to be followed in the settlement of commercial disputes between Athenians and Phaselites. Phaselis, a Rhodian colony, lay on the coast of Lycia, not far from the frontier of Pamphylia, and its merchants carried on a vigorous trade alike with the ports of the Levant and with Greece (cf. Thuc. ii. 69); in the fourth century they bore a bad name at Athens for shiftiness and chicanery ([Dem.] xxxv. 1 ff.).

It is here prescribed that, if a contract (ξυμβόλαιον) is concluded at Athens with a Phaselite, any dispute regarding its fulfilment is to be settled in the polemarch's court, as in the case of Chians (ll. 6-11); but if the contract is entered into

elsewhere, the existing *ξυμβολαί* are to be followed (ll. 11–15). The due observance of these rules is guaranteed by a heavy penalty imposed upon the offending magistrate (ll. 15–22). For *ξυμβόλαιον*, *ξυμβολαί*, *ξύβολα* and *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* (or *ξυμβόλων*) see the passages collected in Hill, *Sources*, i. 182 ff. (cf. Hitzig, *Altgr. Staatsv.* 35 ff., J. H. Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, 965 ff., Busolt, *Gr. St.* 487, 1244 f., 1257). For *ἐκκλητοὶ δίκαι* (l. 15; but the restoration is rejected by Lipsius) see Hesychius' definition *αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγόμεναι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει* (cf. E. Sonne, *De arbitris externis*, 112 ff.).

The date of the decree cannot be fixed with certainty. The first editors assigned it to the early part of the fourth century —e.g. Köhler (*Hermes*, vii. 159 ff.) to 394–387 B.C., Judeich (*Kleinasiatische Studien*, 98, note 1) to 388—but Wilhelm pointed out that, despite the use of the Ionic alphabet, the letter-forms are those which are employed about the middle of the fifth century. Just before the battle of the Eurymedon (about 467 B.C.) the Phaselites were induced, largely by the intervention of the Chians serving in Cimon's fleet, to enter the Delian League and take part in the campaign then in progress (Plut. *Cimon*, 12). But it is not certain that this decree was passed at that time, and P. Haggard has argued that its formulae indicate a date after 462 B.C. (*Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lviii. p. xxxi f.). In the earliest of the quota-lists Phaselis is found paying a tribute of 6 talents (No. 30, iv. 24).

For *τέλεσι τοῖς τῶν Φασηλιτῶν* (ll. 26, 27) cf. Nos. 42, l. 60, 63, l. 22, 84, l. 34, 88, l. 31.

### 33

#### Argos regulates Relations between Cnossus and Tylissus : about 450 B.C.

Two contiguous fragments of a stele of greyish limestone found at Argos, the lower in 1906, the upper in 1912 : now in the Museum at Argos.

Archaic Argive letters, suggesting a date shortly after that of No. 28 ; *στοιχηδόν*. As in No. 25, *θ* and *ο* are indistinguishable. The last paragraph (ll. 44–8) is in a different, and perhaps slightly later, hand (OYΦ in place of OYV). Phot. in *B.C.H.* xxxvii, Pl. 4.

*D.G.E.* 83+ Buck, *G.D.* 80<sup>2</sup> (p. 285) ; Solmsen, 27. Cf. W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, xlii. 90.

(I) - 24 - νεσε - 9 - | - 22 - ατον χο. . . . να[. . | . τῶι Τυλισίῳι ἀδεῶς

- ἐξεῖμι]εν ξύλλεσθαι πλὰ[ν] τ[ὶ] ἀ μέρη τὰ Κνωσίω[ν] συ]ντέλλοντα ἐνς  
 5 πόλιν· ὅ τ[ι] || δέ κα ἐκ δυσμενέ]ων ἔλωμες συνανφότεροι, δα[σ]μῶι  
 τῶν κατ] γὰν τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔχεν πάντων, τ[ὸ]ν δὲ κατ] θάλασαν τὰ  
 ἡμῖσα ἔχεν πάντων· τὰν δὲ [δ]εκ]άταν τὸν Κνωσίους ἔχεν, ὅ τι χ'  
 ἔλωμες κοι[ν]ῶι· τῶν δὲ φαλύρων τὰ μὲν καλλ[ι]στεῖα Πυθῶδε  
 10 ἀπ[ά]||γεν κοινῶι ἀμφοτέροισι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶι Ἄ[ρ]ει Κνωσ[τ]οῖ ἀντιθέ-  
 μεν κοινῶι ἀμφοτέροισι. (II) Ἐξ[α]γωγὰν δ' εἰ]μεν Κνωσθέν ἐνς  
 Τυλισὸν κῆκ Τυλι[σοῦ] Κνωσόνδ]ε· αἱ δὲ πέρανδε ἐξάγοι, τελίτω  
 ὅσσα[περ] τοῖ Κν]ώσιοι· τὰ δ' ἐκ Τυλισοῦ ἐξαγέσθω ὅπυ[ι] κα λῶιη.  
 15 (III) Τῶ]ι Ποσειδᾶνι τῶι ἐν Ἰντῶι τὸν Κνωσίω[ν] ἱαρέα θύ]εν, τῶι  
 Ἡραῖ ἐν Ἡραῶι θύεν βοῦν θήλει[αν ἀμφοτ]έροισι, θύεν δὲ  
 πρὸ Φακινθ[ίων] -8-|. . . κ -30-|(two verses missing)| (IV) -14-  
 ανον το -14- -πρ[α]τομηνίαν ἄγεν κατὰ ταῦτ[α] -11-|ίου ἀμ[φ]οτέρων.  
 (V) Χρήματα δὲ μὴ ὑπιπασκέσθω ὅ Κνωσίο[ι] ἐν Τυλισῶι, ὅ δὲ  
 25 Τυλίσιοι ἐν Κνωσῶι ὅ χρηζ[ω]ν. (VI) Μηδὲ χώρας ἀποτάμνεσθαι  
 μηδατέροισι μηδ' ἀπ]ανσαν ἀφαιρῖσθαι. (VII) Ὁροὶ τὰς γᾶς.  
 Ὑτῶν ὅρος καὶ Αἰετοὶ κάρταμίτιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχοῦ τέμενος κα[ὶ]  
 ὅ ποταμός, κῆλ Λευκόπορον ἀγάθοια ἔαι ὕδω[ρ] ρεῖ τοῦμβριον, καὶ  
 30 Λᾶος. (VIII) Ἰ κα τῶι Μαχανεῖ θύωμ]ες τὸνς φεξήκοντα τελέους  
 ὄφιν, καὶ τῶι Ἡ[ρ]αι | τὸ σκέλος φεκάστου διδόμεν τοῦ θύματος.  
 (IX) Αἱ δὲ συμπλέουσαι πόλεις ἐκ πολεμίων ἔλοιεν χρήματα, ὅπαι  
 συγγοίεν τοῖ Κνωσίοι καὶ τοῖ Ἀργεῖοι, | οὕτω εἶμεν. (X) Τῶι Ἄρει  
 35 καὶ τὰφροδίται τὸν Κνωσ[τ]ῶν ἱαρέα θύεν, φέρεν δὲ τὸ σκέλος φεκά-  
 στου. (XI) Τὸν Ἀρχὸν τὸ τέμενος ἔχεν τοῦν Ἀχάρναι. (XII) Τοῖς  
 θύουσι | ξήνια παρέχεν τὸνς Κνωσίοις, τὸνς δ' Ἀργείοις | τῶι χορῶι  
 ἐν Τυλισῶι. (XIII) Αἱ κα καλῇ ὅ Κνωσίοις πρῆσγέαν, ἔπεσθαι  
 40 ὅπυι κα δέχται· καὶ χῶ Τυλίσ[τ]ῶι τὸν Κνωσίον, κατὰ ταῦτά.  
 (XIV) Αἱ δὲ μὴ δοῖεν ξήνι[α], βωλὰ ἐπαγέτω ρύτιον δέκα στατήρων  
 αὐτίκα ἐπὶ κόσμος, κῆν Τυλισῶι κατὰ ταῦτά ὅ Κνωσίοις.  
 Ἄ στάλα ἔσστα ἐπὶ Μελάντα βασιλέος· ἀφρήτεν|ε Λυκωτάδας  
 Ὑλλεύς.  
 45 Ἀλιαῖαι ἔδοξε τῶι τῶν || ἱαρῶν ἀ(φρήτεν) βωλᾶς Ἀρχίστρατος  
 Λυκοφρονίδας. | Τοῖ Τυλίσιοι ποὶ τὰν στάλαν ποιγραψάνσθω τάδε· |  
 (XV) Αἱ τις ἀφικνοῖτο Τυλισίων ἐνς Ἀργος, κατὰ ταῦτά | σφιν ἔστω  
 ἄπερ Κνωσίοις.

This interesting but difficult document can best be explained by means of a close translation.

I. ' - - the Tylissian may plunder (ξύλλεσθαι = σκυλλεσθαι) with impunity all save the regions which belong to the city of the Cnossians; and whatever we both together (with *συνανφότεροι* cf. *συμπλέονες*, l. 31) capture from the foe, they (i.e. the Tylissians) shall on a division retain the third part of all taken by land and the half of all taken by sea, while the Cnossians shall retain the tithe of whatsoever we capture jointly; and of the spoils [*φαλύρων* is probably not an engraver's error, but a by-form of *λαφύρων* due to metathesis] both shall send the finest jointly to Delphi, and the rest both shall dedicate jointly to Ares at Cnossus.

II. There shall be export from Cnossus to Tylissus and from Tylissus to Cnossus; but if any (Tylissian) export goods to states beyond, let him pay as much as the Cnossians: but let goods from Tylissus be exported whithersoever he may desire [*ἔπνι* = *ἔποι* recurs in l. 39 and in the Code of Gortyn, *I.J.G.* i. p. 364, iv. l. 15].

III. The priest of the Cnossians [the phrase is repeated in l. 34] shall sacrifice to Poseidon at Iytus [perhaps the modern Mt. Juktas]; both shall sacrifice jointly a cow to Hera in (the) Heraeum [whether the famous Argive Heraeum or a Cretan temple is not clear], and they shall sacrifice before the Hyacinthia - - -

IV. - - they shall keep the first day of the month alike - - of both [possibly we should read τὸ ἀμ[φ]οτέρων.]

V. The Cnossian may not possess real property (*ἐνπιπάσκομαι* = *ἐκτάομαι*) at Tylissus, but the Tylissian who wishes (may do so) at Cnossus.

VI. Neither may cut off any part of the territory (of the other) [*χώρας* is partitive genitive] nor take it all away.

VII. (The following are the) frontiers of the land: Swine's Mount and the Eagles and Artemis' temple and the precinct of Archos and the river, and to Leucoporus and Agathoea following the course of the rain-water (cf. *ἡ ὕδωρ ῥεῖ*, *G.D.I.* 5016. 12, 5075. 51, etc.; *ὡς ὑδάτων ῥοαί*, *Inscr. Priene*, 37. 107) and Laus.

VIII. When [the word is primarily local, secondarily, as here, temporal] we sacrifice to Machaneus [see *R.E.* xiv. 141 f.,

where, however, this passage is omitted] the sixty full-grown rams, to Hera too shall be given the leg of each victim.

IX. If several cities together capture property from the enemy, as the Cnossians and the Argives agree, so shall it be.

X. The priest of the Cnossians shall sacrifice to Ares and to Aphrodite and receive the leg of each (victim) [Pausanias mentions a joint temple of Ares and Aphrodite at Argos (ii. 25. 1) and the names occur in close conjunction in many Cretan documents].

XI. Archos shall retain the precinct at Acharna [perhaps the modern village of Archanes, south of Cnossus].

XII. The Cnossians shall show hospitality to those who offer sacrifice (at Cnossus) and the Argives at Tylissus at the Chorus.

XIII. If the Cnossian [here, as elsewhere in this and other inscriptions, the collective singular stands for the plural] call for an embassy (from the Tylissian), this shall follow whithersoever they desire, and if the Tylissian (call) the Cnossian [καὶ ᾧ = καὶ αἱ κα' οἱ], (the Cnossian shall act) likewise.

XIV. But should they fail to show hospitality, let the Council forthwith impose a fine [for the use of *ῥύτιον*, *ῥύσιον*, *ῥυσιάζειν* see A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xiv. 197 ff.] of ten staters on the *κόσμοι*, and the Cnossian similarly at Tylissus.

The stele was erected (*ἔσστα* = *ἐστάθη*) when Melantas was king [Pausanias speaks of a certain Meltas as the last king of Argos: the 'king' here referred to seems to be an annual eponymous magistrate] and Lycotadas of the tribe Hylleis was president [perhaps of the board of *ἀπρῖναι* (*Mnemosyne*, lviii. 28): for *ἀφρήτευε* see Bechtel, *G.D.* ii. 460].

Resolved by the assembly concerned with sacred business, (when) Archistratus of the Lycophronid phratry was president of the Council: Let the Tylissians add to the stele these words:

XV. If any of the Tylissians should come to Argos, they shall have the same rights as the Cnossians.'

Cnossus and Tylissus, its western neighbour, anxious to stabilize friendly relations—political, religious and economic—with each other, appealed to the mediation, or possibly the



arbitration, of Argos, which was linked with both of them by ties of tradition, cult, and language. Of the Argive award, based apparently upon a treaty drawn up by the states themselves (note the use of the first person in l. 5 and elsewhere), the latter part lies before us: the lost beginning probably contained, in addition to the preamble, a declaration of friendship and alliance and a promise of mutual assistance in the event of war. Vollgraff, the discoverer of the inscription, has called attention (*B.C.H.* xxxvii. 286 ff.) to the striking similarities existing between this document and the numerous later treaties between Cretan cities which have survived on stone. Argos recognizes the difference in wealth and power between the two states and makes no attempt to establish exact reciprocity between them.

The date of the award would seem, to judge from historical probability and epigraphical evidence, to fall about the middle of the fifth century. In a subsequent, but not much later enactment (ll. 44-8) the Argive assembly placed Tylissians visiting Argos on the same footing as Cnossians.

The language is Argive, though here and there Cretan forms have crept in (e.g. in l. 33 *oi* is Cretan and *roi* Argive); for the Argive dialect see Buck, *G.D.*, p. 148, Bechtel, *G.D.* ii. 437 ff., E. Hanisch, *De titulorum Argolicorum dialecto* (Göttingen, 1903).

For a treaty between Cnossus and Tylissus concluded about the middle of the fifth century, see 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1914, 94 ff., *D.G.E.* 84.

### 34

#### Treaty between Oeanthea and Chaleum, and Law of Oeanthea: about 450 B.C.

A bronze tablet with a ring-handle at one end, engraved on both sides, found at Oeanthea (the modern Galaxidi): it passed into the Woodhouse Collection and was acquired in 1896 by the British Museum.

Early Locrian writing, somewhat later than that of No. 24. The second part of the text (from *Τὸν πρότερον* in l. 8) is in a different hand from the first, distinguishable by the larger size and wider spacing of the letters and by the different forms of α, γ, μ and ν. In both the forms |⊙ are used (except ⊕ once in l. 7), and ϙ is discarded. Phot. in *B.M.I.* 953, facs. in *Imag.* 98, 2.

Hicks-Hill, 44+ Hill, *Sources*, i. 184; *B.M.I.* 953+; *D.G.E.* 363; Heikel, 53; Buck, *G.D.* 56; Solmsen, 45. Cf. A. Dethier, *Sitzb. Wien*, xxx. 462 ff.; W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxviii. 1220; H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 76 f.; R. G. Kent, *Textual Criticism of Inscriptions*, 20 f.; J. Hasebroek, *Staat und Handel*, 128; Ziebarth, *Seeraub*, 100.

### Front

: Τὸν ξένον μὴ ἄγειν : ἐ' τὰς Χαλεΐδος : τὸν Οἰανθέα μ|ηδὲ τὸν Χαλειέα : ἐ' τὰς Οἰανθίδος, : μ|ηδὲ χρήματα αἱ τί' συ|λῶνι : τὸν δὲ συλῶντα ἀνάτω' συλῆν. τὰ ξενικά ἐ' θαλάσας ἄγειν : | ἄσυλον, : πλάν  
5 ἐ' λιμένος : τῷ κατὰ πόλιν. : αἱ κ' ἀδίκω' συλῶνι, : τέ||τορες δραχμαί : αἱ δὲ πλέον δέκ' ἁμαρῶν ἔχοι τὸ σῦλον, ἡ|μιόλιον ὀφλέτω φό, τι συλάσαι. : Αἱ μεταφοικέοι πλέον μηνὸς ἦ | ὁ Χαλειεύς ἐν Οἰανθείαι ἦ Ὡιανθεὺς ἐν Χαλείωι, τῷ ἐπιδαμῖαι δίκαι χ|ρήστω. : Τὸν πρόξενον : αἱ ψευδέα προξενέοι : διπλ|είωι θωιήστω. ||

### Back

10 Αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζωντι : τοῖ ξενοδίκαι, : ἐπωμόςτας : ἑλέσ|τω : ὁ ξένος : ὠπάγων : τὰν δίκαν : ἐχθὸς προξένω| καὶ ριδιοξένω : ἀριστίνδαν, : ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μναια|λαις : καὶ πλέον : πέντε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας, : ἐπὶ ταῖς |  
15 μείονοις : ἐννέ' ἄνδρας : αἱ κ' ὁ φασσὸς ποῖ τὸν φ||αστὸν δικάζεται καὶ τὰς συμβολᾶς, : δαμιοργοὺς | ἑλέσται : τοὺς ὀρκωμότας ἀριστίνδαν τὰν πε|ντορκίαν ὁμόσαντας : τοὺς ὀρκωμότας τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον ὁμνύειν, : πληθὺν δὲ νικῆν.

The document falls into two parts. The first (ll. 1-8) contains a treaty (συμβολή) between Oeanthea and Chaleum, two Locrian towns on the western shore of the Crisaeian Gulf, regulating the seizure of σῦλα by the citizens of either in the territory or harbour of the other and the legal position of citizens of either resident in the other. The second (ll. 8-18), subsequently added, is a law of an unnamed state—probably Oeanthea, where the inscription was found—relating to the responsibilities of πρόξενοι, the trial of suits brought by ξένοι and the conduct of δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν.

The date suggested above depends mainly on the character of the script, for which see A. Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 144 ff., and on the style of the document.

For the dialect see F. Bechtel, *G.D.* ii. 3 ff., and Buck, *G.D.*, p. 144. Duplication of consonants is avoided (except ἐννέ',

φασστός in l. 14): thus  $\tau\iota'$ ,  $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ ,  $\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$  are written (ll. 2-4) before a word beginning with  $\sigma$ , and the  $\kappa$  of  $\epsilon\kappa$  when it precedes a consonant becomes assimilated to that consonant and then disappears (ll. 1-4).

Both parts of the inscription begin abruptly, without title, preamble or date (cf. Nos. 5, 24), and, though every letter of the text is clearly legible, its interpretation presents numerous difficulties, some of which have not yet been satisfactorily solved. The following translation is, therefore, suggested with reserve.

I. 'No one shall carry off the Oeanthian stranger from the territory of Chaleum nor the Chalean from that of Oeanthea, nor his property, if he make a seizure, but any one may with impunity seize him who is making a seizure. Any one may carry off the property of a stranger from the sea without liability to seizure, save from the harbour of either city. If any one make a seizure unjustly, four drachmas (shall be the penalty); but if he should retain the property seized for more than ten days, let him be fined one and a half times whatever he has seized. If either the Chalean should reside more than a month in Oeanthea or the Oeanthian ( $\Omega\iota\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma = \delta\ \text{Ο}\iota\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ) in Chaleum, let him be subject to the legal procedure of the place (of his residence).'

E. Meyer holds (*Forsch.* i. 308) that the text is complete as it stands, but Dittenberger believed that its earlier portion was engraved on another tablet and contained provisions relating to suits between a Chalean and an Oeanthian, neither of whom was a  $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  in the state of the other.

For the piratical practices of the Ozolian Locrians and their Aetolian neighbours, cf. Thuc. i. 5, Polyb. xvii. 4, 5. For ancient piracy, privateering and reprisals see H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, ch. ii, Coleman Phillipson, *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ii, chs. xxvii, xxviii, and E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs*, ch. iii. The meaning of  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$  varies between the general one of plundering and the specialized sense of 'seizure of a pledge to enforce payment of a claim' (Ormerod, *op. cit.* 64); cf. A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xiv. 197 ff.

In l. 1 we may write τῶν ξένων and regard the construction as a genitive of respect or as a partitive genitive: if we write τὸν ξένον, either we may take τὸν ξένον τὸν Ολανθέα as the object of ἀγειν or we may see in τὸν Ολανθέα its subject, and in τὸν ξένον its object. Similarly in l. 3 some editors regard τὸν συλῶντα as subject, others as object, of συλῆν. The penalty for unjust seizure is a light one provided that prompt reparation is made: otherwise the action is shown to have been deliberate and a severe penalty is imposed (ll. 4-6). The ξένος ἐπιδημῶν, who resides beyond a month, becomes a μέτοικος and as such is subject to the law in force in the state in which he has settled (ll. 6-8): for the position of μέτοικοι in the Greek world see Busolt, *Gr. St.* 293 ff., 985 f.

II. 'The *proxenos*, if he deal falsely as *proxenos*, shall pay a double fine. If the judges in the aliens' court disagree, the alien who brings (ὠπάγων = ὁ ἐπάγων) the suit shall choose sworn supporters, excluding a *proxenos* and a private host, from the best men, fifteen in suits involving a mina or more, nine in those involving less. If a citizen bring a suit against a citizen in accordance with the treaty [κατὰ τὰς συνβολὰς should be read rather than κατὰ τὰς συνβολάς: cf. κατὰ τῶνδε in No. 24, l. 1], the *demiourgoi* shall choose the jurors from the best men after swearing the fivefold oath: the jurors shall swear the same oath and a majority shall prevail' [this provision may, as E. Meyer argues (*Forsch.* i. 316), apply to the ἐπωμόται of l. 10 as well as to the ὀρκωμόται of l. 16].

For the words διπλείωι θωιήστω (ll. 8, 9) see *I.G.* ix. (1), p. 81; for the ξενodίκαι (l. 10) and δαιμοργοί (l. 15) cf. *I.G.* ix (1), 32. 38 f. The ἐπωμόται (l. 10) are either 'additional jurors' (so, e.g., H. F. Hitzig, *Altgr. Staatsverträge über Rechtshilfe*, 59 f., who thinks that in every case tried by the ξενodίκαι the foreign plaintiff chose the jury, and A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xiv. 235 f.) or 'sworn compurgators' (so R. Meister, *Rh. Mus.* lxiii. 561 ff.). The *proxenos* (as the official representative of the plaintiff's state or the official patron of all ξένοι) and the private guest-friend of the plaintiff are naturally excluded as likely to be prejudiced in his favour. F. Poulsen, however, interprets πρόξενος here as 'witness' (*B.C.H.* liv. 47).

## 35

## Milesian Law against Tyrants: about 450 B.C.

On a marble base, which once bore a stele, found *in situ* in the North Market at Miletus.

Ionic letters, *στοιχῶδόν*. Blank spaces are left at the ends of lines, or the final letters are engraved on the right-hand side of the base (ll. 2, 5, 6), in order that each line may end with a word or with the preposition of a compound verb (ll. 3, 8). Phot. in *Milet*, i. 6, p. 101.

S.I.G. 58+ *Milet*, i. 6, p. 100 ff., No. 187.

- 15 - σ[. . . . . τ]ὸν[ς Ν]ὺμφαρήτου καὶ Ἀλκι[μ]ον | καὶ Κ]ρεσφόν-  
την [τοὺς] Στρατώνακτος φεύγειν τὴν ἐπ' αἴμ[ατ]ι | [φ]υγῆν καὶ αὐτοὺς  
[κα]ὶ ἐκγόνοους, καὶ ὃς ἂν τινα τούτωγ κατ[α]κτείνε[ι], ἑκατὸν [στ]ατήρας  
5 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν || [χ]ρημά[τ]ων τῶν Νὺμφαρήτου· τοὺς δ'  
ἐπιμηνίους, ἐπ' ὧν ἂν ἔλθωσι | [οἱ κατα]κτείναντες, ἀποδοῦναι τὸ  
ἀργύριον· ἦν δὲ μὴ, αὐτοῦ[ς] | ὀφεί[λ]ειν. \*Ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλι[ς] ἐ]γκρατ[η]ς  
γέννηται, κατακτείναι | [αὐτ]οὺς τοὺς ἐπιμηνίους [ἐ]π' ὧν ἂν λαφθέω-  
σιν· ἦν δὲ μὴ κατα[κτ]είνουσιν, ὀφείλειν ἐ[κ]αστον περτῆκοντα  
10 στατήρας· || τὸν δὲ ἐπιμήνιον, ἦν μὴ προβῇ, ἑκατὸν στατήρας ὀφεί-  
λειν, καὶ τὴν ἔσιουσιν ἐπιμηνήν αἰὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα· | ἦν  
δὲ μὴ, τὴν αὐτὴν θωιὴν ὀφείλειν.

In l. 1 τ]ό[ν] may be restored: in l. 2 the stone has [τό]ν and in l. 7 [ἐ]γκρατές, probably stonecutter's errors. On the other hand, κατα[κτ]είνουσιν (l. 8) preserves an old Ionic form of the aorist conjunctive (W. Schulze, *Hermes*, xx. 491 ff.) and justifies the restoration κατ[ακτείνε]ι (l. 8).

The opening part of this decree was evidently engraved (perhaps below one or more earlier enactments) on the stele which once surmounted the base but is now lost. In the extant portion certain men and their descendants for all time are outlawed and a price is set upon their heads, payable by the ἐπιμήνιοι (the counterparts of the Athenian *πρυτάνεις*) out of the confiscated property of one of the original outlaws. If any of the outlaws come into the power of the state, the ἐπιμήνιοι in office shall put them to death. Fines are imposed on the magistrates for any neglect of these duties (τὸν ἐπιμήνιον in l. 10 denotes the chairman of the board, τὴν ἐπιμηνήν in l. 11 the body collectively). This perpetual and hereditary outlawry of two families is almost certainly im-

posed for some form of treason, in all probability an attempt (whether temporarily successful or not) to establish a tyranny at Miletus. For laws directed against tyranny and tyrants see H. Swoboda, *Klio*, xii. 343, note 1, and for the *σῆλαι* on which such sentences were recorded cf. Thuc. vi. 55, Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* 117 f., and the other examples collected by Glotz (*C.R.A.I.* 1906, 519 ff.).

In a brilliant, if not wholly convincing, discussion of this inscription and of a fragment of Nicolas of Damascus (*F.H.G.* iii. 389. 54, *F. Gr. Hist.* ii. 354. 53) which contains several remarkable echoes of it, Glotz (*op. cit.* 511 ff.; cf. Wilamowitz, *G.G.A.* 1914, 75) argues that the Neleids were banished from Miletus in the sixth century B.C., and the sentence was recorded on the upper part of the lost stele, but that the massacre of the *δῆμος* by the aristocrats, who for a while had enjoyed Athenian support ([Xen.] 'Aθ. πολ. iii. 11), led to a renewed outlawry of the Neleid leaders of the oligarchical faction, the terms of which were engraved upon the lower part of the stele and upon the extant base. Alcimus (l. 1), he points out, is the name of a son of Neleus (Schol. B on *Iliad*, xi. 692), and Cresphontes is associated with Messenia, the home of the Neleids. He also emphasizes the poverty of Miletus at this time, attested by the small amounts of the reward offered (l. 4) and of the fines imposed (ll. 9, 10, 12).

We possess considerable fragments of an Attic decree passed in 450-49, regulating judicial and other relations between Miletus and Athens (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 22).

### 36

#### Civil Laws of Gortyn: about 450 B.C.

Twelve columns engraved on the inner surface of a circular wall, which supported the *cavea* of a theatre constructed about the first century B.C. or later: the wall had previously formed part of a much earlier building, perhaps a *δικαστήριον*. Two detached fragments, one of which is now in the Louvre, were discovered in 1857 and 1879 (*I.G.A.* 475-6, Roberts, 9g+); the main body was found by F. Halbherr, in 1884, in a mill-stream at 'Αγροί Δέκα, on the site of the ancient Gortyn. Cf. L. Pernier, *Annuario*, ix. 11 ff.

Archaic Cretan writing, *Βουτροφιδόν*. The columns follow in sequence from right to left. Diagonia (*F*) is in use, but not qoppa: *κ* serves for *κ* and *χ*, *π* for *π* and *φ*, *κς* for *ξ*; there is no aspirate sign. Phot. of the upper part of col. i in Kern, *I.G.* Pl. 5; facs. of the whole inscription in *Imag.* 9 ff., No. 4.

*I.J.G.* i. 352 ff. + Hicks-Hill, 35 (col. i only) + J. Kohler u. E. Ziebarth, *Das Stadtrecht von Gortyn*, 1 ff. + *D.G.E.* 179; Heikel, 47; Buck, *G.D.* 110; Solmsen, 40. Cf. E. Drerup, *Philol.* lxxiii. 475 ff.; R. M. E. Meister, *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 564 ff., 576 ff.; L. Gernet, *R.E.G.* xxix. 383 ff. The code has been translated into English by A. C. Merriam (*A. J. Arch.* i (1885), 324 ff., ii (1886), 24 ff.) and by H. J. Roby (*Law Quarterly Review*, ii. 135 ff.).

The inscription is too long to republish here in its entirety; the first column will serve as a specimen of the whole.

I Οιοί. | "Ος κ' ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ δώλῳ μέλλῃ ἀν|πιμωλῆν, πρὸ δίκας μὴ  
5 ἄγεν· αἱ δ' ἐκ' ἄγῃ, καταδικασάτω τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ δέκα στατήραυς,  
τῷ δώλῳ πέντ|ε, ὅτι ἄγει, καὶ δικασάτω λαγᾶσαι | ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ  
ἀμέραις· αἱ [δὲ] κα | μὴ [λαγ]άσει, καταδικαδδῆτω τῷ μὲν | ἐλευθέρῳ  
10 στατήρα, τῷ δώλῳ [δα]ρκν||ἀν τᾷ[s] ἀμέρας φεκάστας, πρίν κα λαγᾶσει·  
τῷ δὲ κρόνῳ τὸν δι[κ]αστ|ἀν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν. — Αἱ δ' ἀννίῳτο | μὴ  
15 ἄγεν, τὸν δικαστᾶν ὁμνύντ|α κρ[ι]νεν, αἱ μὴ ἀποπωννῶι μαῖτυς. || Αἱ  
δέ κα μωλῇ ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθε[ρ]ου, [ὁ δὲ δ]ώλου, κάρτοναυς ἤμην |[ὅττο]ι  
κ' ἐλευθέρου ἀποπωννῶν|τι. Αἱ δὲ κ' ἀνπὶ δώλῳ μωλῶντι | πωννῶν-  
20 τεσ φόν φεκάτερος ἤμ||ην, αἱ μὲν κα μαῖτυς ἀποπωννῇ, κατὰ τὸν  
μαῖτυρα δικαδδεν, αἱ | δὲ κ' ἢ ἀνποτέροις ἀποπωννῶντι | ἢ μηδατέρῳ,  
25 τὸν δικαστᾶν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν. Ἡ δὲ κα νικαθῇ ὁ || ἔκων, [τ]ὸμ μὲν  
ἐλευθέρου λαγᾶσαι τᾶν πέ[ν]τ' ἀμερᾶν, τὸν δὲ δῶλ[ον] ἐς κῆραυς  
ἀποδόμην· αἱ δὲ | κα μὴ λαγάσει ἢ μὴ ἀποδῶι, δικακισάτω νικῆν  
30 τῷ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ || πεντήκοντα στατήραυς καὶ σ|τατήρα τᾶς ἀμέρας  
φεκάστ|ας, πρίν κα λαγάσει, τῷ δὲ δώλῳ | δέκα στατήραυς καὶ δαρκνᾶν|  
35 τᾶς ἀμέρας φεκάστας, πρίν κ' ἀ||ποδῶι ἐς κῆραυς. Ἡ δὲ κα καταδι-  
κάκει ὁ δικαστᾶς, ἐνιαυτῷ π|ράδδεθθαι τὰ τρίτῃ ἢ μείον, | πλῖον  
40 δὲ μῆ· τῷ δὲ κρόνῳ τὸν δι|καστᾶν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν. Αἱ δὲ || κα ναεύ-  
ῃ ὁ δῶλος ὦ κα νικαθῇ|ι, καλῶν ἀντὶ μαϊτύρων θυῶν δ|ρομέων  
ἐλευθέρων ἀποδεικσάτ|ω ἐπὶ τῷ ναῶι ν ὁπῇ κα ναεύῃ, ἢ αὐτὸς  
45 ἢ ἄλος πρὸ τοῦτῳ· αἱ δὲ || κα μὴ καλῇ ἢ μὴ δείκει, κατω|[τάτ]ω  
τὰ ἔ|γρα]μένα, αἱ δὲ κα μῆδ' | αὐτὸν ἀποδῶι ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, | τᾶυς  
50 ἀπλόους τ[ι]μᾶυς ἐπικατ|αστασεῖ. — Αἱ δὲ κ' ἀποθάνῃ μ||ωλιόμεναυς  
τᾶδ δι[κ]ας, τὰν ἀπλ|όον τιμὰν κατ(α)στασεῖ. — Αἱ δ' ἐκ' κα κοσ[μ]ῶν

ἀγχι ἢ κοσμίοντο|ς ἄλλος, ἢ κ' ἀποστᾶι, μωλῆν, καὶ κ|α νικαθῆι,  
55 κατιστάμην ἀπ' [ᾱ]ς || [ἀμέρα]ς ἔγαγε τὰ ἐγγραμένα. — |

II [Τὸ]ν δὲ νενικαμένο[ν] κα[ὶ] τὸν κα[τὰ]κεῖμενον ἄγοντι ἄπατον | ἡμην.

In l. 17 Blass restored [ἑτερο]ί; in l. 51 the engraver wrote κατιστασεῖ. In the writing of dialect forms I have followed Schwyzer (*D.G.E.* 179), save that I prefer the form ἦ to ᾗ in ll. 24, 35, 53.

For the Cretan dialect the standard works on Greek dialects (e.g. those of Thumb, Bechtel, and Buck) may be consulted, together with J. Brause, *Lautehre der kretischen Dialekte*, and the articles cited in Solmsen, *loc. cit.*

We find frequent references in antiquity to the publication of laws by means of their inscription upon tablets or on the walls of public buildings (Wilhelm, *Beitr.* 264 ff.), but this is the best example of their preservation to our times in this form. Not that we have before us a complete and ordered code, comparable to that of Hammurabi or of the XII Tables. 'The great inscription' of Gortyn is rather the result of a revision, more or less thoroughgoing and systematic, of earlier laws by the Gortynian legislative body, in which some important questions are dealt with only cursorily while others are wholly neglected. Its significance lies in its realization of a series of new ideas, which raise law to a higher level than before: but it contains frequent references to previously existing law (iii. 20, 29, iv. 30, etc.), the knowledge and practice of which is throughout assumed (Kohler-Ziebarth, *op. cit.* 42).

Crete was famous for its early laws and lawgivers, and in this respect Gortyn enjoyed a specially high reputation (cf. Strabo, x. 4. 17). Considerable fragments of its earlier laws have survived, though in a mutilated condition, on the blocks which formed the cella-walls of the earliest Pythion (Kohler-Ziebarth, v f.), while seven columns of a collection of laws slightly later than 'the great inscription' are extant on the so-called 'north wall' (*ibid.* 28 ff., *I.J.G.* i. 392 ff.).

Comparetti assigned the inscription before us to the first half of the sixth century B.C., but most scholars are now agreed in dating it about the middle of the fifth (*I.J.G.* i. 437 ff., Kohler-Ziebarth, vi f.).



The following translation will make clearer the sense of this difficult text.

- I 'Gods. Whoever intends to lay claim to a free man or a slave may not carry him off before the case is tried; but if he do carry him off, (the judge) shall condemn him to (a fine of) ten staters for a free man and five for a slave, because he carries him off, and shall give judgement that he release him within three days; but if he do not release him, (the judge) shall condemn him to (a fine of) a stater for a free man and a drachma for a slave for each day until he releases him, and of the time the judge shall decide on oath. But if he should deny carrying him off, the judge shall decide on oath, unless a witness makes a declaration. But if the one party claim that he is a free man and the other that he is a slave, those who declare that he is a free man shall prevail. And if they lay claim to a slave, each declaring that he is his, if a witness make a declaration he shall give judgement according to the witness; but if (the witnesses) make declaration either in favour of both or in favour of neither, the judge shall decide upon oath. And if he who is in possession be worsted, he shall within five days release the free man and restore the slave to (his master's) hands; but if he do not release him or do not restore him, let him give judgement that (the successful party) has the right (to receive) for a free man fifty staters and a stater for each day until he releases him, and for a slave ten staters and a drachma for each day until he restores him into his hands. And if the judge give judgement against him, for a year the third part or less shall be exacted, but not more; and of the time the judge shall decide upon oath. But if the slave be in sanctuary at the time when the adverse verdict is given, (the successful party) shall summon him in presence of two free and adult witnesses and shall point him out, either he himself or someone else on his behalf, in the temple where he is taking sanctuary. But if he fail to summon him or fail to point him out, he shall pay the prescribed sum. And if he do not restore him within the year, he shall pay in addition the simple value. If, however, (the slave) die while the case is still in process, he

shall pay the simple value. And if one who is *kosmos* carry him off, or anyone else (carry off the slave) of a *kosmos*, the claim shall be brought when he lays down office, and, if he  
 55 be found guilty, he shall pay the prescribed sum, (reckoned)  
 II from the day on which he carried him off. But he who carries off one who has been found guilty or one who has been given in security shall be liable to no penalty.'

This chapter, dealing with disputes about the status or the ownership of human beings, falls into seven sections.

1. Ll. 2-14. No one who claims a person, whether slave or free, shall anticipate by seizure (*ἄγειν*, *manus iniectio*) the result of the trial. [(*Ἀμφι*)*μωλεῖν* = 'dispute': cf. Hesych. *μ[ω]λεῖ · μάχεται. καὶ ἀντιμωλία δίκη κτλ. Λαγάσαι* = 'liberate': cf. Hesych. *λαγάσαι · ἀφείναι. (Ἀπο)πωνεῖν* = 'declare', 'depose'. For the status of slaves in Crete see *I.J.G.* i. 423 ff., Kohler-Ziebarth, 49 ff.] This prohibition, differentiating sharply the law of Gortyn from that of Athens and Rome, was probably an innovation here first introduced.

2. Ll. 15-24. Where a person's status is in dispute, he shall be regarded as free [cf. the Roman *præiudicium libertatis*]. In case of disputed possession of a slave, the judge shall decide according to the witnesses: if these are lacking or equally balanced, he shall decide at his own discretion.

3. Ll. 24-39. Sanction of the judge's decision [*κῆρας* = *χεῖρας*. For *τὰ τρίτῃ* (l. 37) cf. *I.J.G.* i. 402]. The fines are not, it would seem, exacted by the state, but are left for the successful party to levy by distraint.

4. Ll. 39-49. Procedure in the event of a slave taking sanctuary. [For *ναεῦεν* (= 'to take refuge in a *ναός*') cf. Hesych. *ναεῖν · ἱκετεύειν. Δρομεύς* (l. 41) (= 'adult') recurs in iii. 22, v. 53, vi. 36, etc.: cf. *I.J.G.* i. 408.]

5. Ll. 49-51. Procedure in the event of the slave dying *pendente lite*.

6. Ll. 51-55. A magistrate can only sue or be sued for *manus iniectio* after his term of office has expired. [With *ἀποστᾶν* (l. 53) cf. *D.G.E.* 193. 105.]

7. Ll. 56-ii. 2. A debtor judged by the court to be insolvent (*addictus*) or one who has offered his person as security (*nexus*) may be legally seized (for he, as in early Attica and Rome, becomes his creditor's property). [For ἀπαρον ἤμην cf. iv. 17: so ἄτα = 'penalty' in xi. 41, ἀπαμένος = 'subject to a penalty' in iv. 30, x. 21, etc.]

## 37

## Victories of Selinus: about 450 B.C.

A broken block of tufa found in 1871 among the ruins of the temple of Apollo at Selinus: now in the Museum at Palermo.

Selinuntine (Megarian) writing. Facs. in *Imag.* 55. 12.

Hicks-Hill, 34 + Hill, *Sources*, viii. 150; *S.I.G.* 1122; Heikel, 89; Buck, *G.D.* 91; Solmsen, 33; *D.G.E.* 166. Cf. Hulot-Fougères, *Selinonte*, 101 ff.; Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 521, note 2; A. Wilhelm, *Z. Öst. Gymn.* 1913, 600 f.

[Δι]ὰ τὼς θεὸς τῷ[σ]δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινῶν[τιοι]· | δι]ὰ τὸν Δία  
νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ] | δ[ι]ὰ 'Ηρακλέα κ[α] | δι' 'Απόλλωνα  
5 καὶ διὰ Π[ο]τ[ε]ρ[ι]δ[α]ν καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' 'Αθ[η]ν[α]ν καὶ διὰ  
Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικράτειαν καὶ διὰ τ[ὸ]ς ἄλλως θεῶς, [δ]ιὰ  
δ[ὲ] Δία | μάλιστ[α]· | φιλ[ι]σ[τ]ας δὲ γενομένας ἐν χρυσίῳ | ἐλά[σ]αντα[ς],  
10 τὰ δ' ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ[ά]σαντας ἐς τὸ 'Απ[ο]λλ[ο]νίου καθέμε[ν],  
τὸ Διὸς προ[γ]ρά[ψαν]τες· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον | ἐξ[ῆ]κ[ον]τα τ[α]λάντων  
[ἦ]μεν.

At the close of a war (for which see commentary on No. 31) the Selinuntines marked their victory (l. 1) and the conclusion of peace (l. 7) by erecting as a thank-offering in the temple of Apollo a golden plate of 60 talents' weight (l. 11), bearing images of the gods in relief (*ἐλάσαντας*) and their names incised (*κολάσαντας*), at the same time engraving on the temple wall the inscription which has survived. As at Megara, the mother-city of Selinus, Zeus enjoys the primacy (ll. 2, 6, 10) and Apollo is also prominent (ll. 3, 9): side by side with them the record names Φόβος (probably Ares himself and not, as in the *Iliad*, Ares' son and comrade), Heracles, Poseidon, the Tyndaridae, Athena, Μαλοφόρος and Πασικράτεια. Μαλοφόρος (the name is connected with μῆλον 'apple' rather than with μῆλον 'sheep') is an epithet of Demeter found at

Nisaea (Paus. i. 44. 3) as well as at Selinus, where she had an important temple, recently excavated (*Mon. Ant.* xxxii. 5 ff.). Πασικράτεια probably represents Persephone (cf. *Hymn. Cer.* 365), though the Πασικράτα whose shrine has been excavated at Demetrias in Thessaly seems to be Aphrodite (*S.E.G.* iii. 481-3: cf. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Πρακτ.* 1920, 22 ff.).

In ll. 8-10 the omission of the object of ἐλάσαντας and the transition from the accusatives (ἐλάσαντας, κολάψαντας) to the nominative (προγράψαντες) are harsh, but not unparalleled. W. Vollgraft suggests ἐν δ'] δυνάματα in l. 8 (*Mnemosyne*, lvii. 439).

## 38

## Attic Tribute Quota-List: 449-8 B.C.

On the front of a massive block of Pentelic marble (see No. 30).

Developed Attic writing, except that Ν or Ν is used throughout and Ρ in the last few lines. Στοιχηδόν. Facs. in *Harvard Studies*, xxxvii. 86, Pl. 16.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 196 + Hill, *Sources*, ii. 6; B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 322 (= *S.E.G.* iii. 23); B. D. Meritt and A. B. West, *Harvard Studies*, xxxvii. 83 ff. and Pls. 16, 17, *A. J. Arch.* xxx. 139 ff., xxxii. 281 ff. The text given below is that of Meritt and West, *S.E.G.* v. 6, modified in accordance with their final revision (but see note at end of text).

[Ἐπ]ι τῇ[s ἀρχῆς ἡ]μὶ Μενέτ[ιμο]ς : ἐγρα[μμάτ]ευε Λαμ[πιδρεὺς]

Col. I		15	Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Γρυ[νειῆς]
			Η Η Η	Χε[ρρονήσιοι]
[Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι]	Ναρ[ισβα]ρ[ῆς]		Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Πύ[ρριοι]
- - Ι Ι Γ Ι Ι	Τεν[έδιοι]		Δ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Νε[άπολις]
[Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι]	Γε[ντ]ύριοι		Η Η	Κ[υλλάντιοι]
5 [Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι]	Σ[ταγ]ιρίτα[ι]	20	[Δ] Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι	Κ[υρβισσῆς]
[Η Π]	Κερα[μῆς]		[Δ] Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι	Χ[ῖοι]
[Π Η Η Η Η]	Καμυ[ρῆς]		Η Η Η	Ἀφ[υραῖοι]
[Η Η] (?)	Ἀλικ[αρρ]άσσοι		[Η]	Συ[αγγεῖοι]
[Η]	Μυρ[ινάιοι]		[Η Η Π]	Τε[ρμε]σῆς
10 [Η]	Μηκυβερναῖοι	25	[Π] Δ Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Ἰ[δου]μῆς
[Δ Δ Δ Γ Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι]	Π[λαγασῆς]		[Η Π]	Μαρ[ωνίται]
[Η Η]	Πηδασῆς		[Π]	Θερ[μαῖοι]
[Π] Η Η Η Η	Κυμαῖοι		[Η]	Οἰναῖοι
[Δ] Γ Γ Γ Ι Ι Ι Ι	Πιτταναῖοι		[Π]	Χαλκεᾶται

30 --	[. . . . . ι]	15 --	-----
--	-----	--	..... ι
--	-----	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Σύριοι]
--	[. . . . . ι]	[ΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Ἑρώδιοι]
--	[. . . . . ιοι]	--	..... ι
35 --	[Δικαιοπολίται]	20 HHH	[Κολοφώνιοι]
<i>vacat</i>	Ἑ[ρετριῶν ἀποικ]οι	ΔΓΓΓΓ	Κ[οδαπῆς]
[XHH]	Αἰ[νιοι]	ΓΓΓΓ	Κυ[δαίης]
--	Κα[ύνιοι]	ΔΓΓΓΓ	Διο[σιρίται]
	<i>vacat</i>	ΔΔΔΓ	Χαλκ[ήτορες]
	Col. II	25 ΔΔΓ	Ὀλοφ[ύχσιοι]
ΓΓΓΓΓ	Ναχσιᾶτα[ι]	ΗΓ	Κλαζ[ομένοι]
ΓΓΓΓΓ	Θασθαρήs	ΧΗΗΗΗ	Ἀβ[δηρίται]
ΔΔΓ	Μυδόνες	ΗΓ	Καλύδ[νιοι]
5 Γ	Τηλάνδριοι	ΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓΓΓ]	Νοτιή[s]
ΔΓΓΓΓ	Καρβασσανδ[ήs]	30 ΓΔ[ΔΓ]	Γαργα[ρήs]
ΓΓΓΓΓ	Οὐλιάται	ΗΗ[Η]	Φασηλί[ται]
ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ	Κρυῆs	Η	Διῆs
ΔΓΓΓΓ	Φαρβήλιοι	Γ	Κνίδι[οι]
10 ΓΓΓΓΓ	Μύνδιοι	ΗΗ	Σπαρ[τώλιοι]
Χ	[Λί]νδιοι	35 [Η]	[Σ]τ[ρεφσαῖοι]
[ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Πεδιῆ]s	[Γ]	[Κεδριᾶται]
[ΗΓ]	[Θύσσιοι]	[Χ]	[Ἰηλύσιοι]
--	-----	[ΗΗ]	[Ἀστυπαλαιῆs]
			<i>vacat</i>

## Col. III

	[ΓΔ]ΔΔΓΓΓΓ	Στώλι[οι]
	[ΓΓ]ΓΓΓ	Ἑδρώλι[οι]
	Γ	Ῥηναῖης
5	[ΓΓΓΓΓ]	Πριαπῆs
	[ΔΓΓΓΓΓ]	Ἑστιαῖ[ς]
	[ΓΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Π]αλαιπερκ[ώ]σιοι
--	--	Γαλήφσιοι[ι]
	[ΗΗΗ]	Φωκα[ι]ῆs
10	[ΗΗΗΓΓΓ]	Κῶιοι
	[ΔΓΓΓΓΓ]	Βαργυλι[ῆs]
	[ΓΓΓ]	Σαμοθράκ[ες]

	Δ[ΔΔΔ]	Ἀσσηρίται
	ⲡ	[Δ]ίκαία παρ' Ἀβδ[ηρ]α
15	ΔΔΔⲉ[ⲉⲉⲉ]	[Δ]ίης
	ΔⲒ[ⲉⲉⲉⲉ]	[Εὐ]ρυμαχίται
	Ⲓ[ⲉⲉⲉⲉ]	[Βρυ]κούντιοι
	ΔⲒ[ⲉⲉⲉⲉ]	[Κ]ιανοί
	ΔⲒⲉ[ⲉⲉⲉ]	[Ἀρ - -]
20	ΔΔ	Ἵ[Υ]μισσῆς
	Η	Ἵ[Υ]δισσῆς
	ΗΗΗ	Ἵ[Α]ιραῖοι
	[Χ]ⲡΗΔΔ	[Π]άριοι
	[ΔⲒⲉⲉⲉⲉ]	[Δαμνιο]τειχίται
25	ⲡΗⲡΔⲒⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Ν[ά]χσιοι
	ⲡΗΗΗΗ	Χα[λχηδόν]ιοι
	ⲡΗ	Ση[λυμβρ]ιανοί
		{ Ἐ[ρυθραῖ]οι
		{ [ο]ῦτο[ι ἀπήγαγον] ἑπὲρ
		{ [Π]ολιχναίων : κα[ὶ] ἑπὲρ αὐτῶν
30		{ [Σ]ιδούσιοι : Βουθ[ειῆς] : Ἐ[λαιο]ύσιοι
		{ Πτελεούσιοι
	[ΗⲡΔΔΔⲉⲉⲉⲉ]	Σίγγιοι
	[Δ]Ⲓⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Παρπάρ[ο]ι
	[Δ]Ⲓⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Σκαφσαῖ[ο]ι
	Ⲓⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Σερμῆς
35	[Δ]ΔⲒ	Ἵ[Κ]ιοι
	Δⲉⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Σιγεῖ[ς]
	Ⲓ	Ἀρπ[αγ]ιανοί
	[Η]ΗΗ	Πεπα[ρήθιοι]

vacat

## Col. IV

	Η	Σερ[ί]φιοι
	ⲡΔΔΔⲒⲉⲉⲉⲉ	Λαμφ[σακηνοί]
	ⲡ	Αἰγά[ντιοι]
5	ΗΗΗ	Τήν[οι]
	ⲡΗ	Τή[οι]
	ⲡΗ	Ἀν[δ]ριοι
	- -	Μυκόνιοι

	[HHΔΔΔ]ΔΓ†	Θάσιοι
10	- - ΙΙΙΙ	Ἀβυδηνοί
	- - Η	Ἐρετριῆς
	[ΔΓ†]ΙΙΙΙ	Βρ[υ]νχειῆς
	[HH]Η	[Σίφν]ιοι
	ΔΓ†[ΙΙΙΙ]	[Διδ]υμοτευχ[ῖται]
15	Δ††††	[Ἰᾶτα]ι
	ΠHHΠΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ	[Τορω]ναῖοι
	Δ[Δ]ΔΔΓ†	[Δαρδ]ανῆς
	[Η]	Π[ρι]ανῆς
	[Η]	Σ[τ]υρῆς
20	ΔΔΔ[†]†††	Ἀθηναῖοι
	ΔΓ[†]ΙΙΙΙ	Β[ε]ρύσιοι
	- - ††††[†]	Βυζάντιοι
	Π	Χαλκιδῆς
	Π	Νεοπολίται
25	[Δ]Γ†ΙΙΙΙ	Λα[μ]πώνεια
	Δ[Γ]†ΙΙΙΙ	Πα[ι]σηνοί
	ΔΓ[†ΙΙΙΙ]	[Περκ]ώτη
	Η	[ῥ]ησσοί
	- -	[Συλιμῆ]ς
30		Μ[ετὰ τὰ Διονύσια ?]
	- -	[Ληφσίμανδοι]
	ΔΔΔ[Δ†ΙΙΙΙ]	[Κασωλαβῆς]
	ΔΔΓ[†ΙΙΙΙ]	[Φ]ηγῆτιο[ι]
	ΗΗΗ	Σερβυλιῆς
35	Π	Σκαβλαῖοι
	ΧΠ	Με[ν]δαῖοι
	ΗΗΗ	Κύθνιοι
	Π	Καρύστιοι
	ΗΗΗΗ	Κεῖοι

I have inserted in the text as published by West and Meritt twenty-four quotas derived from other lists of the same assessment-period.

For the tribute quota-lists see the commentary on No. 30. The present list represents the second assessment-period, 450-447 B.C. The brevity of its title is noteworthy: cf. Nos. 46, 56, 71.

## 39

**Renewal of Alliance between Athens and Phocis:  
about 448 B.C.**

Marble stele, found on the S. slope of the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Early Attic letters, ΝΟΖV, στοιχηδόν. If the restoration given below is correct, the aspirate is twice omitted (ll. 12, 16).

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 26 + Cf. W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 270.

[Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, . . . ντὶς ἐπρ]υτάνευε, Αἰ-  
[. . . | . . . ἐγραμμάτ]ευε, Μένυλλ[ος ἐ]πεστάτει, . . . | νης εἶπε·  
5 χσ[υνθ]||έσθαι μὲν τὴν χ[συν]μαχίαν [πρὸ]ς Φωκέας, τῆς δὲ Πυλαίας  
ἀπα[γγ]εῖλαι αὐτοῖς κα]ὶ τοῖς Ἀμφι[κτί]οσι, ὅισπερ μέ]τεσσιν τοῦ  
10 [ι]ε[ροῦ], τὸν ὅρκου δ[ι]μόσαντας ἐν [τῷ] χσυνεδρίῳ· νῆ τ[ὸν]  
Ἀπόλλω [κα]ὶ τὴν Αἰγῶ καὶ τῇ ν Ἀρτεμιν ἐ[μ]ε[ν]ω τοῖς ὄρκοισιν  
τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀρ[ίστ]ωνος ἀρχοντος γε[νο]μένοις· ἐ[φ]σηφίσθαι δὲ ἡμερῶν]  
15 τριῶν π[έν]τε ἀνδρας ἀποστεῖλαι] ἐς Πύλ[ας, | οἱ ἀπαγγελοῦσι τὰ  
ἐφση]φισ[μένα] - - -

In l. 2 Αἰαντὶς or Λεωντὶς must be restored, followed by Αἰ[σιμίδης] or some similar name: in l. 4 Αἰσχί]νης is a probable restoration.

The present decree renews an alliance with Phocis on the terms accepted in 454-3 B.C. (l. 12 f.) and orders its due announcement at the forthcoming meeting of the Delphian Amphictyony (for which see *R.E.* i. 1909 ff.). The renewal, which, to judge by the character of the writing, took place before 445, probably followed the 'Second Sacred War', when the Athenians under Pericles restored to the Phocians the control of the Delphic sanctuary, from which the Spartans had ousted them (Thuc. i. 112. 5, Plut. *Per.* 21, Philochorus fr. 88 in *F.H.G.* i. 398). See Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 333, note 2, and 420 f.

## 40

**Decree about the Priestess and Temple of Athena Nike:  
about 448 B.C.**

Stele of Pentelic marble, found in 1897 on the N. slope of the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic letters with the three-stroked ζ, στοιχηδόν. Phot. in Kern, *I.G.* Pl. 14; *J.R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 129.



I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 24 + Some further references in Hicks-Hill, 37. Hill, *Sources*, iv. 70b (p. 435). Cf. G. Welter, *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 190 ff.; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. Arch.* xxvii. 318 ff.; S.E.G. ii. 2; A. H. Smith, *J.R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 128 ff.

- [Ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ] [δῆ]μο[ι . . . ] - 15 - Γλαῦκος εἶπε·  
 [τῇ] Ἀθηναίαι τῇ Νίκῃ ἱέρειαν, ἣ δ[ὲ]ν διὰ βίου ἱεράτα]ι, ἐχς  
 5 Ἀθηναίων ἀπα[σῶ]ν καθίστα[σθαι] καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θυρώσα]ι, καθότι ἂν  
 Καλλικράτης χσνγγράφσ[η] ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τοὺς πωλητὰς ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Λεωντίδος πρυτανείας· φέρειν δὲ τῇν ἱέρειαν πεντήκοντα δραχμάς,  
 10 καὶ || τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δη[μοσίων] νεῶν δὲ  
 οἰκοδομῆσαι, καθότι ἂν Καλλικράτης χσνγγράφσῃ, καὶ βω[μὸν]  
 λίθινον.]  
 15 Ἐστιάος εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐλέσθ[αι] ἐγ βουλῆς· τοὺτους δὲ  
 μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά[του]ς χσνγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδεί]χσαι τῇ βουλῇ  
 καθότι ἀπομ[ισθω]θήσεται . . . ] - 6 -] εἰ (vel η) τοὺς (vel τὸ σ) - -

The prescript (ll. 1, 2) presents grave difficulty. If the above restoration is correct, only one of the three missing items (prytany, secretary, epistates) of the normal formula can have been recorded on the stone; possibly the other two were engraved on a separate stone, which, it appears almost certain, surmounted the extant stele. F. von Hiller (*I.G. loc. cit.*) accepts with hesitation Körte's suggestion (*Hermes*, xlv. 623 ff.) that the first two lines of the inscription have entirely perished and that ll. 3, 4 should be restored [-11-ἐγραμμάτε]ν[εν], Μο[ιραγ]ένης ἐπεσάτει, Ἱππών[ικος] εἶπε· [τῇ]. But (a) Professor A. B. West informs me that the traces on the stone point to Γλαῦκος as the proposer of the decree and rule out Ἱππών[ικος], and (b) it can hardly be mere coincidence that the three partially preserved letters in l. 1 occur just where they were to be expected if the opening formula of the decree began the line in question. In ll. 3, 4 I accept Ziehen's restoration in preference to the ἣ δ[ὲ]ν ἀστῇ ἐχς ἀστῶν ῆ]ι suggested by Kavnvadias: in ll. 4, 5 ἀπ[άν]των ταπει[σθαι] is also possible, though if written normally ταπεισθαι would be one letter too short.

The character of the writing indicates a date about 450-446 B.C., though the arguments based upon the name of Hipponicus must, as we have just seen, be abandoned. The decree provides

(a) that a priestess of Athena Nike be appointed to hold office for life (ll. 2-5);

(b) that her sacred place (ιερόν) be closed by a door to be designed by Callicrates (ll. 5-8);

(c) that the priestess receive 50 drachmas [*sc.* annually; the present infinitive denotes a repeated, the aorist a single, act], as well as certain perquisites from public sacrifices

(ll. 8-11). [Some scholars have connected τῶν δημοσίων (*sc. ἱερῶν*) with δέρματα only and not also with σκέλη, while others have read τὸν δημόσιον: both these interpretations are, however, open to grave objection (*L.G.S.* ii. p. 48 f.; *S.I.G.* 63, note 4). For priestly perquisites cf. *S.I.G.* 1015. 8 ff.; B. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, 302 ff.]

(d) that a temple (νέως) and a stone altar should be built to Callicrates' design (ll. 11-13).

An amendment [though lacking the usual formula marking it as such (cf. Nos. 42, l. 70, 74, l. 47)] was carried by Hestiaeus, appointing three members of the Council to confer with Callicrates in drawing up the necessary plans and specifications and submit them to the Council [for ἐπιδεῖξαι cf. No. 74, l. 60; for this function of the βουλή see Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. xlix. 3 with Wilamowitz's comment, *Ar. u. Ath.* i. 213], which would probably bring them before the Assembly for final ratification. Perhaps the closing phrase was τοὺς [δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐχσενεγκέιν], or something similar (No. 74, l. 61). That the question did again come before the people more than once we learn from a recently discovered fragment of a stele, bearing on one side a decree relating to the construction of the temple and on the other the closing passage of its building accounts (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 88, 89; cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 15; A. H. Smith, *J.R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 130): these two documents Dinsmoor has tentatively dated in 436-5 and 433-2 respectively (*A. J. Arch.* xxvii. 318 ff.), and Welter between 420 and 405 (*op. cit.*).

Callicrates, who was apparently the state architect at this period, was responsible, together with Ictinus, for the building of the Parthenon (Plut. *Per.* 13), constructed the 'middle wall' to the Piraeus (*ibid.*) and carried out repairs on the Acropolis with a view to excluding runaway slaves and footpads (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 44 = *S.I.G.* 62).

Into the vexed question of the history of the Nike-bastion and of the temple which crowns it this is not the place to enter. See, in addition to the articles cited above, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 220 ff. +; A. Köster, *Jahrb.* xxi. 129 ff.; M. L. D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens*, 186 ff.; E. Petersen, *Jahrb.* xxiii. 12 ff.; L. Savignoni, *Ausonia*, v. 97 ff.; C. H.

Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, 239 ff.; G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.* xl. 309 ff.; and the works mentioned in D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 360.

For the questions here concerned see also No. 73.

## 41

## Athenian Expedition to Megaris: 446 B.C.

Found by Fauvel among the graves near the Acharnian Gate of Athens.

Ionic alphabet.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 1085 + F. D. Allen, *Pap. Am. School*, iv. 100; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 206; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 50; Michel, 1767.

Μνήμα τ[όδ' ἔστ' ἐ]πὶ σ(ώ)ματι κείμενο(ν) ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου.  
 Πυθίων | ἐγ Μεδάρω(ν) δαίξας ἑπτὰ μ(ἐ)ν ἄνδρας,  
 ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπορρήσας λ|όγγας ἐνὶ σώματι ἐκείνων  
 εἴλετο τὰν ἀρετὰν πατέρα εὐκ|λείζων ἐνὶ δήμῳ.  
 5 Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔ(σ)ωισεν Ἀθηναίων τρ||εῖς φυλάς  
 ἐκ Παγῶν ἀγαγὼν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας,  
 εὐκλ|εῖσε Ἀνδοκίδαν δισχιλ(ί)οις ἀνδραπόδοισιν.  
 Οὐδέ[[δε]]να | πημάνας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐς Αἶδα κατέβα πᾶσι μα|καριστὸς ἰδέσθαι.  
 Φυλαὶ αἰδ' εἰσὶν Πανδιονίς, Κεκρ|οπίς, Ἀντιοχίς.

The Athenian defeat at Coronea in 447 B.C. was followed in the next year by the revolt of Euboea (Thuc. i. 114, Diod. xii. 7, Plut. *Per.* 22). Pericles was promptly sent there with an army, but was recalled by the news of the defection of Megara, the massacre of the Athenian garrison there and the impending invasion of a powerful Peloponnesian force under King Plistoanax. Meanwhile, the three remaining Athenian regiments—those of the tribes Pandionis, Cecropis, and Antiochis—marched to the Megarid under the command of Andocides. By a rapid advance the Peloponnesians cut off Andocides from returning to Attica by the direct route, but the expert guidance of Pythion enabled him to rejoin Pericles by marching from Pegae *via* Aegosthena, Creusis, and southern Boeotia.

Such is the most natural interpretation of this curiously illiterate epitaph, set up over Pythion on his death, we do not know how many years later (cf. U. Köhler, *Hermes*, xxiv. 92 ff.; G. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 426; *C.A.H.* v. 89); its correctness is, however, called in question by Beloch (*G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1. 182).

## 42

## Athenian Relations with Chalcis: 446-5 B.C.

A marble slab found in 1876 built into the S. wall of the Acropolis: now in the Acropolis Museum. There are indications on the stone that another slab was affixed on the left and that the two were surmounted by a third stone, probably adorned with a relief and bearing the name of the *γραμματεὺς*, the omission of which is otherwise remarkable.

Attic writing (but in l. 77 H = η), *στοιχηδόν* except in ll. 1, 2. The forms L and L, N and N, P and P are used inconsistently, but σ is always ζ.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 89+ Some further references are given in Hicks-Hill, 40; Hill, *Sources*, i. 180; Janell, 48, and Helbing, 2 (ll. 1-39 only). Cf. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Gereke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, iii<sup>2</sup>. 116 ff.; S. Casson, *Cat. Acrop. Museum*, ii. 286; H. Swoboda, *Sitzb. Wien*, cxci. 2. 20, note 5.

Ἔδοχεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀντισχίς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
Δρακοντίδης ἐπεστάτει, Διόγνητος εἶπεν· κατὰ τὰδε τὸν ὄρκον  
ὁμόσαι Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς δικαστάς·

- 5 Οὐκ ἐχσελῶ Χαλκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν  
ἀνάστατον πώσω οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην οὐδένα ἀτιμώσω οὐδὲ  
φυγῇ ζημιώσω οὐδὲ χυλλήψομαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ οὐδὲ  
10 χρήματα ἀφαιρήσομαι ἀκρίτου οὐδενὸς ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου  
τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, οὐδ' ἐπιψηφίῳ κατὰ ἀπροσκήτον οὔτε  
κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ οὔτε κατὰ ἰδιώτου οὐδ' ἐνός, καὶ πρεσβείαν  
ἐλθοῦσαν προσάχσω πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον δέκα ἡμερῶν  
15 ὅταν πρυτανεύω κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐμπέδωσω  
Χαλκιδέουσιν πειθομένοις τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων.

- Ὅρκῶσαι δὲ πρεσβείαν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐχ Χαλκίδος μετὰ τῶν ὀρκωτῶν  
Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἀπογράφσαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντας· ὅπως δ' ἂν ὁμόσωσιν  
20 ἅπαντες, ἐπιμελόσθων τοὶ στρατηγοί.

Κατὰ τὰδε Χαλκιδέας ὁμόσαι·

- Οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε  
τέχνην οὔτε μηχανὴν οὐδὲ μῖαν οὐδ' ἐπει οὐδὲ ἐργῶν οὐδὲ  
25 τῷ ἀφισταμένῳ πείσομαι, καὶ ἂν ἀφιστῇ τις κατερῶ

- 'Αθηναίοισι, κ' αὶ τὸν φόρον ὑποτελῶ 'Αθηναίοισιν, ὃν | ἂν  
 πείθω 'Αθηναίους, καὶ χσύμμαχος ἔσομαι | οἷος ἂν δύνωμαι  
 ἄριστος καὶ δικαιοῦ|ατος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'Αθηναίων  
 30 βοηθήσ||ω καὶ ἄμυνῶ, ἐάν τις ἀδικῇ τὸν δῆμον τὸν |  
 'Αθηναίων, καὶ πείσομαι τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'Αθ|ηναίων.
- 'Ομόσαι δὲ Χαλκιδέων τοὺς ἑβῶν|τας ἅπαντας· ὃς δ' ἂμ μὴ  
 35 ὁμόσῃ, ἄτιμον αὐτ|δν εἶναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια καὶ || τοῦ  
 Διὸς τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερὸ|[v] ἔστω τῶν χρημάτων.  
 'Ορκῶσαι δὲ πρεσβε|ίαν 'Αθηναίων ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς Χαλκίδα μετὰ τ|δν  
 'ορκωτῶν τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι καὶ ἀπογράφ|σαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντας Χαλκι-  
 δέων.||
- 40 'Αντικλῆς εἶπε· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῇ 'Αθηναί|ων ποιεῖσθαι τὸν 'όρκον  
 'Αθηναίους καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καθάπερ 'Ερετριεῦσι ἐφησφίσατ|ο 'ο δῆμος  
 'ο 'Αθηναίων· ὅπως δ' ἂν τάχιστ|α γίγνηται, ἐπιμελόσθων 'οι στρα-  
 45 τηγόι. || 'Οὔτινες δὲ ἐχσορκώσουσι ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Χαλκίδα, ἐλέσθαι  
 τὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄνδρ|ας αὐτίκα μάλα. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁμήρων ἀποκ|ρί-  
 νασθαι Χαλκιδεῦσιν ὅτι νῦν μὲν 'Αθ|ηναίοις δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ  
 50 ἐφησφισμένα, || ὅταν δὲ δοκῇ, βουλευσάμενοι πώησουσι τῇ|ν διαλ-  
 λαγῇ, καθότι ἂν δοκῇ ἐπιτήδευ|ν εἶναι 'Αθηναίοις καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσιν.  
 Τοὺς δ' ἐχσένους τοὺς ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὅσοι οἰκοῦντες | μὴ τελοῦσιν  
 55 Ἀθήναζε, καὶ εἴ τῳ δέδοται | || ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθηναίων ἀτέλεια,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τελεῖν ἐς Χαλκίδα, καθάπερ 'οι ἄλλοι| Χαλκιδέης.  
 Τὸ δὲ φήσιμα τότε καὶ τὸν | 'όρκον ἀναγράφαι 'Αθήνησι μὲν τὸν  
 60 γρα|μματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήληι λιθίνῃ καὶ κ||αταθεῖναι ἐς πόλιν τέλεσι  
 τοῖς Χαλκιδέ|ων, ἐν δὲ Χαλκίδι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | 'Ολυμπίου ἡ  
 βουλὴ Χαλκιδέων ἀναγράφασ|α καταθέτω. Ταῦτα μὲν φησφίσασθαι  
 65 Χαλκιδεῦσιν. νυνν Ταῦτα δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν χρησμ||ῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐβοίας  
 θῦσαι ὡς τάχιστα μετὰ | 'Ιεροκλέους τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὅους ἂν ἔληται | ἡ  
 βουλὴ σφῶν αὐτῶν· ὅπως δ' ἂν τάχιστα τυθ|ῇ, 'οι στρατηγοὶ συνεπι-  
 μελόσθων καὶ τ|ὸ ἀργύριον ἐς ταῦτα [π|αρεχόντων.||
- 70 'Αρχέστρατος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ 'Α|ντικλῆς· τὰς δὲ  
 εὐθύνας Χαλκιδεῦσι κατ|ὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν Χαλκίδι καθάπερ  
 'Αθήνησιν 'Αθηναίοις πλὴν φυγῆς καὶ θανάτ|ου καὶ ἀτιμίας· περὶ δὲ  
 75 τούτων ἐφεσιν εἶνα||ι Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἡλιαίαν τὴν τῶν θεσμοθ|ετῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ φήσιμα τοῦ δήμου· περὶ δὲ φυ|λακῆς Εὐβοίας τοὺς  
 στρατηγοὺς ἐπιμελεσ|θαι ὥς ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα, ὅπως ἂν ἐχ|ῃ | ὥς  
 βέλτιστα 'Αθηναίοις.||

The text here given is that of *I.G.*, save that a few letters are shown as extant which were read by Kumanudes but have since perished.

The inscription may be assigned, on palaeographical and historical grounds, to 446–5 B.C. The Euboean revolt ended in the subjection of the island and the capitulation of its cities in autumn, 446 (Thuc. i. 114. 3). A decree was passed laying down the conditions on which Chalcis re-entered the Athenian Empire (note τὸν ὄρκον in l. 3, τὰ ἐψηφισμένα in l. 49, τὸ ψήφισμα in l. 76) and was inscribed on the slab, now lost, which was attached to that before us (see above). Somewhat later the present decrees were passed, apparently after representations had been made by the Chalcidians (l. 47), modifying and supplementing its terms—decrees which must, on the whole, be regarded as moderate and conciliatory in character.

The document falls into three clearly marked sections.

I. In ll. 1–39 we have a decree, moved by Diognetus on the day when Dracontides (perhaps the same who was στρατηγός in 433–2, No. 55, l. 20) was ἐπιστάτης, prescribing (a) the oath to be taken by the Athenian Council and jurors as representing the whole people, guaranteeing to the Chalcidians certain safeguards and privileges on condition of their loyalty to the Athenian δῆμος [for the delays occasionally experienced by foreign embassies cf. No. 61, ll. 51 ff.; and [Xen.] 'Αθ. πολ. iii. 1]; (b) the manner of its administration [for the ὀρκωταί cf. Nos. 31, l. 10, 66, l. 11]; (c) the oath of loyalty and obedience to the Athenian δῆμος to be taken by all adult male Chalcidians [note the parallelism between the last phrase in the Athenian and that in the Chalcidian oath, πειθομένοις τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων (l. 15), πείσσομαι τ. δ. τ. 'Α. (l. 31)], including an undertaking to pay the tribute assessed by the Athenians after the Chalcidians had had an opportunity of stating their case (ll. 26, 27); (d) the method of administering the oath and the penalty for refusal to take it [the Olympian Zeus of l. 35 is the chief deity of Chalcis (l. 61)].

II. A second decree follows (ll. 40–69), moved, doubtless at the same session of the ecclesia (hence the full prescript is not

repeated), by Anticles, probably the same who served as *στρατηγός* in 440-39 (Thuc. i. 117. 2). Its clauses deal with (a) the hastening of the oath and the immediate appointment of five commissioners for that purpose (ll. 40-47); (b) the Athenian refusal to accede for the present to the Chalcidian request for the modification of the Athenian decree regarding the retention of Chalcidian hostages (ll. 47-52) [for hostages cf. Nos. 68, l. 33, 88, ll. 3, 34]; (c) the taxation of aliens resident at Chalcis (ll. 52-7) [for this clause see below]; (d) the publication of this decree at Athens and at Chalcis (ll. 57-64); (e) the immediate offering of sacrifice for Euboea by three selected *βουλευταί* together with Hierocles (ll. 64-9) [Hierocles is addressed by Eupolis (fr. 212, Kock) as *βέλτιστε χρησμοδῶν ἀναξ* and is called by Aristophanes (*Pax*, 1047) *ὁ χρησμολόγος οὐξ Ὀρεοῦ*, perhaps because he was rewarded for his prophecies by the grant of an estate there. For similar *χρησμολόγοι* at the time of the Peloponnesian War see Thuc. ii. 21. 3, viii. 1. 1].

III. Lastly we have a rider (for the formula *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κτλ.* cf. Nos. 31, l. 15, 74, l. 47) moved by Archestratus, probably the *στρατηγός* of 433-2 (Thuc. i. 57. 6), providing (a) that Chalcidians should be punished [*εὐθύνας* refers to the punishment of any Chalcidian citizen and not to the official examination of magistrates at the expiry of their office] by Chalcidian courts, but that from any 'capital' sentence there should be the right of appeal to the Athenian heliaea, presided over by the thesmothetae [Antiphon vi. 21 also speaks of *τὴν ἡλιαίαν τὴν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν*: for *ἔφεσις* meaning 'appeal' cf. *S.I.G.* 921. 30, 38, 96, 101, Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 9. 1, 45. 2, etc], and (b) that the generals should take steps for the security of Euboea [perhaps in view of the probability that the Boeotians would attempt to foster disaffection in the island].

The word *ὄρκος* appears in l. 80 because it was prescribed (ll. 57, 58) that the decree *and the oath* should be engraved; but there was no need to repeat its precise terms from Diognetus' decree.

The crux of the inscription lies in ll. 52-7, the phrasing of which is, on any interpretation, careless and obscure. Kirch-

hoff (*I.G.* i. Suppl. 27 a), believing that the text should read ἐν Χαλκίδι οἰκοῦντας, ὅσοι μὲν τελοῦσιν and supplying ἀτελεῖς εἶναι after ἀτέλεια, thought that exemption from taxation was secured by this clause to aliens resident at Chalcis (notably the Athenian cleruchs) who paid taxes to Athens or had received immunity from the Athenian people, but that all other aliens paid taxes to Chalcis upon the usual footing.

E. Meyer (*Forsch.* ii. 146 f.), followed by B. Haussoullier (*Revue Critique*, 1900, ii. 27), E. von Stern (*Hermes*, li. 630 ff.), J. Kirchner (*S.I.G.* 64), J. H. Lipsius (*Hermes*, liii. 107 ff.) and others, accepting the text as it is preserved for us on the stone, holds that non-Athenian metics at Chalcis are by this clause recognized as subject to Chalcidian taxation, with the exception of those who either pay, or have received exemption from, taxation to Athens. If we accept this view, we may render the clause: 'But the aliens at Chalcis, save those who, resident there, pay taxes to Athens and any one who has received from the Athenian people a grant of exemption, shall in all other cases pay taxes to Chalcis as do also the Chalcidians' (for καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι cf. *S.I.G.* 348. 20, 912. 13).

W. Kolbe (*Hermes*, li. 479 f.) sees in the ξένοι ὅσοι μὴ τελοῦσιν Ἀθήναζε Athenian metics who had received the grant of ἰσοτέλεια, and thinks that the Athenians here enjoin that Chalcis should respect the privileges of ἰσοτέλεια or ἀτέλεια accorded by them. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (*Hermes*, lii. 527 ff., *Klio*, xvi. 193 ff.), accepting and developing this theory, believes that under this clause those Athenian metics who had been made ἰσοτελεῖς to enable them to join in the settlement of Chalcis are tax-free, while all others receive the right of being taxed only as Chalcidian citizens and are thus exempted from payment of the Chalcidian μετοίκιον.

#### 43

##### Restored Memorial of Athenian Victories: 445 B.C.

Two fragments of a basis of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, except ζ. Στοιχηδόν.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 394 + Roberts-Gardner, 178; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 51. Cf. E. Schmolting, *Sokrates*, 1913, 692 ff.; E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica*, v. Simon. fr. 100b.



[Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμά]σαν[τες]  
 [παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμα]σιν ἐν πολέμῳ]]  
 [δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλύεσσι σιδηρέωι ἔσβε]σαν [ῥύβριν]·  
 [τῶν ῥ]ίππους δεκά[την Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν].

This epigram was copied by Herodotus (v. 77), who, after describing the double victory won in 506 by the Athenians over the Boeotians and Chalcidians and the ransom of the prisoners, proceeds thus: καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον · τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτα ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει · ἐπιγέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε · Ἔθνεα κτλ. (cf. Diod. x. 24, Paus. i. 28. 2, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 343). The character of the writing points to a date about 445 B.C., when, it would appear, Pericles commemorated his subjugation of Chalcis (cf. No. 42) and other recalcitrant Euboean cities in the previous autumn by restoring a monument which, erected in or soon after 506, had been damaged by the Persians during their occupations of the Acropolis in 480 and 479. Of the original inscription a fragment is extant (No. 12) showing the two hexameters transposed. The fetters which had secured the prisoners were then, we may suppose, close at hand, and the emphatic opening phrase Δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλύεσσι σιδηρέωι was wholly appropriate. But sixty years later the fetters were at some little distance from the restored base, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον (*Hdt.* v. 77. 3), and the point to be stressed was rather the conquest of Boeotians and Chalcidians. The rearrangement does, however, separate the τῶν unduly from its antecedent.

With παῖδες Ἀθηναίων cf. No. 59, l. 12. There is some doubt whether in the text of Herodotus we should read ἀχλύεσσι, 'dark', 'gloomy', or ἀχυνόεσσι (a word which does not occur elsewhere), 'painful': here the inscriptions do not help us. By τὰ προπύλαια Herodotus means the 'Cimonian' building rather than that of Mnesicles, begun in 437: for the topographical question see Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 443, C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, 345 f., L. Weber, *Philol.* lxxvii. 77 ff., F. Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.* xxxvi. 317.

## 44

## Athenian Colony at Brea: about 445 B.C.

Two fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found in 1833 and 1847 in the Erechtheum: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, except R. Στοιχηδόν.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 45 + Hill, *Sources*, iii. 317 (cf. p. 434). Cf. Wilhelm, *G.G.A.* 1903, 773 f.

..... ἡ πρὸς ἤν ἂν φαίνοι ἡ | γράφηται,  
 ἐσ[αγέτω · ἐὰν δὲ ἐσάγη, ἐνεχ[υραζέ]τω αὐτὸν] ὅ φήνας ἡ ὅ γραφσά-  
 5 μενος. Πο[λίμνια | δὲ αἰγῶ]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ὅι ἀπ[οικιστ]||αὶ  
 καλλ[ιερῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας, [ῥοπόσα | ἂν αὐτο]ῖς δοκῇ. Γεω-  
 νόμους δὲ ἑλέσθ[αι δέκα | ἄνδρας], ἕνα ἐκ φυλῆς · οὗτοι δὲ νεϊμάντων  
 τῇν | γῆν. Δημ[οκλείδην δὲ καταστήσαι τὴν ἀ[ποικί]αν αὐτοκράτορα,  
 10 καθότι ἂν δύνηται ἄ[ριστα. Τ]||ὰ δὲ τεμ[έν]η τὰ ἐχρηρημένα ἑὰν  
 καθά[περ ἐστ]ί, καὶ ἄλ[λα μὴ τεμενί]ζειν. Βοῦν δὲ καὶ π[αν]ὸπλ[ίαν  
 ἀπά]γειν ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ]ιονύσι[α φαλλόν. Ἐὰν  
 δέ τις ἐπιστρα[τεῦν] ἐπ[ὶ τὴν γῆ]ν τὴν τῶν ἀποίκων, βοηθεῖν τὰς  
 15 πόλεις ὅ[ς] ὅσ[υ]τα κατὰ τὰς χυσυγραφὰς, ἅ[ν] ἐπὶ . . . πρῶ]του  
 γραμματεῦντος ἐγένου[το περὶ τῶν πόλε]ων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης.  
 Γράφσαι δ[ὲ] ταῦτα | ἐν στήλ]ῃ καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐμ πόλει · πα[ρασχόν]-  
 20 των δὲ τ]ῇν στήλην ὅι ἀποικοὶ σφῶν α[ὐτῶν τέ]λλεσιν. Ἐ[ὰν δὲ] τις  
 ἐπιψηφίσει παρὰ τῇ[ν στήλ]ην ἡ ῥή]τωρ ἀγορεύει ἡ προσκαλείσθ[αι  
 ἐγχειρ]ῇ ἀφαι[ρεῖσθαι ἡ λύειν] τι τῶν ἐψοψηφ[ισμένων, | ἀτιμον]  
 εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐχ[ς ἐκείνου | καὶ τὰ χ]ρήματα δημόσια  
 25 εἶναι καὶ τῆς [θεοῦ τὸ ἐ]πιδέκα[τον, ἐὰμ μὴ] τι αὐτοὶ ὅι ἀποικ[οι  
 περὶ? | σφῶν δέ]ωνται :: Ὅσοι δ' ἂν γράφσωντα[ι ἐποικ]ήσειν τῶ[ν  
 στρατιωτῶν, ἐπειδὰν ἡκωσ[ι Ἀθῆνα]ζε, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐμ Βρέαι  
 30 εἶναι ἐπ[οικῆ]σοντας. Ἐ[χσάγειν] δὲ τὴν ἀποικίαν τριάκ[οντα ἡ]με-  
 ρῶν, Α]ισχίνην δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα ἀποδιδόνα[ι τὰ χρῆ]ματα.]

[Φ]αντοκλῆς εἶπε · περὶ [μ]ὲν τῆς ἐς Βρέαν ἀποι[κ]ίας καθάπερ  
 35 Δημοκλ[ῆς] εἶπε Φαντοκλέ[α] δὲ προσαγαγεῖν τὴν Ἐ[ρ]οχθιδά  
 40 πρυτανεία[ν] πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ[ι] πρώτῃ ἐδραῖ · ἐς δὲ || [Β]ρῆαν  
 ἐχ θητῶν καὶ ζε[υ]γιτῶν ἵεναι τοὺς ἀπο[κ]ους.

This decree, moved by Democles (l. 34: probably he is the proposer of an amendment in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 152), regulates the foundation of a colony at Brea in Thrace. Its exact site is unknown, for it is mentioned elsewhere only by Stephanus

Byzantinus (Βρέα, πόλις <Θράκης>, εἰς ἣν ἀποικίαν ἐστείλαντο Ἀθηναῖοι κτλ.), by Hesychius (Βρέα· Κρατῖνος μέμνηται τῆς εἰς Βρέαν ἀποικίας κτλ.) and by Theognostus (Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca Oxon.*, ii. 102). The date indicated by the writing is 446–442 B.C., and the founding of the colony was thus a recent event when Cratinus mentioned it, probably in the *Θράτται* produced about 441 (cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 417, 592). This supports the conjecture that Plutarch (*Pericles*, 11) has the same enterprise in mind when, after speaking of the Periclean cleruchies in the Chersonese, Naxos and Andros (probably 447 B.C.), he adds εἰς δὲ Θράκην (ἐστείλει) χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας and concludes with a reference to the foundation of Thurii (443 B.C.). Of the fortunes of the colony we know nothing: probably the natives offered an embittered resistance and the settlers, like those previously sent to Ennea Hodoi on the Strymon, were destroyed or dispersed.

It is not clear whether ἐσάγειν in the opening clause relates to the importation of certain commodities into the colony or to the bringing of certain suits before a law-court.

The remainder of the measure provides for:—

1. Sacrifice for the prosperity of the colony (ll. 3–6). The ἀποικισταί are apparently the adjutants of the οἰκιστής and may correspond to the ten men sent to Thurii ἐπὶ τῷ κτίσαι αὐτήν (Schol. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 332): the word does not occur elsewhere.

2. The distribution of the land by ten elected γεωνόμοι (ll. 6–8). Cf. Phryn. *Praep. Soph.*, p. 57 (ed. I. de Borries), γεωνόμης μὲν ὁ διατέμων ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἐκάστῳ τὸν κλῆρον, γεωμέτρης δὲ ὁ μετροῦν τοὺς κλήρους.

3. Democles' settlement of the colony at his discretion (ll. 8, 9).

4. The limitation of sacred domains (ll. 9–11). The colonists are guaranteed the enjoyment of all the land save that already reserved for divine use (cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 1 τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξηρημένα). Whether the τεμένη in question are those consecrated by the previous inhabitants of Brea or those marked out in advance by the promoters of the colony is not stated. Cf. S. Luria, *Klio*, xxi. 71 f.

5. Offerings to be sent to Athens at the great festivals (ll. 11-13). Cf. No. 29, ll. 1 ff., 66, ll. 55 ff., and Schol. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 386, ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βοῦν τυθησόμενον ἔπεμπον. For the dedication of a panoply to Athena, cf. *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 456 b 6, *Inscr. Priene*, 5.

6. Defence of the colony, in case of attack, by the neighbouring cities of the Athenian League (ll. 13-17).

7. A public and permanent record of this charter (ll. 17-20).

8. Penalties for any attempt to alter its provisions save on the request of the colonists (ll. 20-6).

9. The participation of Athenians at present on military service, perhaps in Euboea in 446 (ll. 26-9). These must be at Brea within thirty days of their demobilization at Athens: since they do not go with the main expedition, they are described as ἔποικοι rather than ἀποικοι. Cf. No. 60.

10. The dispatch of the colony and the payment of travelling expenses (ll. 29-31). So Libanius says of Athenian cleruchs ἐλάμβανον πεμπόμενοι ὅπλα τ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐφόδιον (*Arg. Dem.* viii).

In a rider (ll. 32-42), added to the decree on the proposal of Phantocles, it was prescribed (a) that the prytanes of the tribe Erechtheis, who were probably to enter office shortly, should give Phantocles an opportunity of laying his views before the βουλή; and (b) that the colonists were to be taken from citizens of the two lowest property-classes.

## 45

### Ostracism at Athens: about 443 B.C.

Forty-six *ostraka*, fragments of pottery, found in 1910 (except No. 46, discovered in 1914, and Nos. 12, 37, added in 1916) near the northern margin of the Street of Tombs in the Outer Ceramicus at Athens, some sixty metres from the city wall: now preserved in the National Museum.

The names are scratched, except No. 12, which is written. For the letter-forms see commentary. Phot. of selected examples, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. Pl. 2-4.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 911-12+ A. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.* li. 128 f. Cf. H. Knackfuss, *Arch. Anz.* xxxi. 160. My numeration of the *ostraka* follows the order of *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 8 ff., with the insertion of Nos. 12 and 37 from *Ath. Mitt.* li. 129.

## 1-12. Votes against Thucydides.

- 1, 5. Θουκυδίδης | Μελησίον.  
 8. Θουκυδίδης : Μελησίον.  
 9, 10. Θουκυδίδηι | Μελησίον.  
 12. Θουκυδίδης.

None of the remainder is perfectly preserved, but one (No. 4) was of the same type as 1, and five (Nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 11) were of the type either of 1 or of 9. In no case is the demotic (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν) added.

## 13-37. Votes against Cleïppides.

13. Κλεϊπίδης | Δεινίου | Ἀχα(ρ)νές (for the spelling cf. *G.A.I.* 62, note 524).  
 14. Κλεϊπίδης[s] | Δεινίου.  
 15. Κλεϊπίδης | Δεινίου | Ἀχαρνῆθεν.  
 16. Κλιπίδης | Ἀχαρνές.  
 17. Κλεϊπ[πίδ]ηι : Δεινίου.  
 21. [Κ]λεϊπίδηι : | Δεινίου.  
 22. Κλειππίδηι | Δεινίου.  
 26. Κληῖπ[πίδ]ης : Δεινίου.  
 29. [Κλεῖπ]πίδης [Δεινίου] | [Ἀχαρ]νές.  
 33. [Κλεῖ]πίδης | Ἀχα[ρ]νές.

The remainder, all (except No. 20) more or less mutilated, contain the name and patronymic: in two only (35, 36) is the demotic added.

## 38-46. Other votes.

38. Ἀνδοκίδης | Λεωγόρου.  
 39. Τείσανδρος | [Ἐ]πιλύκου.  
 40. Εὐχαρίδην θεσμο(θέτην) | Εὐχάρους.

41-5. Fragments of votes cast probably either against Thucydides or against Cleïppides.

46. Δάμων | Δαμωνίδου.

There is reason to believe that all these votes, except No. 46, were given on one and the same occasion. All the more noteworthy is the variety shown in their formulae and their writing. The name of the citizen against whom the vote was cast is in the nominative (19 certain examples), the dative (6 certain examples) or the accusative (Nos. 40, 44). Once at least it stands alone (No. 12: cf. 41, 42); usually it is accompanied by a patronymic (32 examples) or a demotic (Nos. 16, 33) or both (Nos. 13, 15, 36 and probably 29); once only (No. 40) is a title added. There are a few mistakes of spelling, in Nos. 3 (Θουκιδ - -), 13, 16, 22 and 26. The forms of Α, Δ, Ε vary slightly; Η occurs on twelve *ostraka* with its Ionic value η and Λ on ten with its Ionic value λ (in No. 7 we find ΛΕ, in No. 8 ΛΗ used in the word Μελησίου); ρ and υ are occasionally written Ρ, Υ; χ is always +; on nine of the *ostraka* ϝ occurs, on sixteen (including all which have the Ionic Η or Λ) ξ; Ω is used twice in No. 6 to represent ου.

Of the men whose names are here recorded all except Εὐχαρίδης (No. 40) are known to us otherwise. Thucydides was Pericles' chief political opponent from Cimon's death in 449 until Thucydides' ostracism, probably in the spring of 443 (see especially Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 28, Plut. *Pericles*, 14, 16). Cleïppides was στρατηγός in 428 and was sent to Lesbos in command of a squadron of 40 ships (Thuc. iii. 3). Andocides was the paternal grandfather of the orator who bore his name, and served as στρατηγός in 446-5 and again in 441-0 B.C.; Tisander, perhaps the orator's maternal grandfather, gave his daughter in marriage to Pericles' eldest son, Xanthippus (Plut. *Pericles*, 36). Finally, Damon or Damonides, philosopher and musician, was Pericles' teacher and was reputed to have influenced his pupil's political measures. Both Aristotle ('Αθ. πολ. 27. 4) and Plutarch (*Pericles*, 4; *Nicias*, 6; *Aristides*, 1) state that he was subsequently ostracized: the truth of this assertion has been called in question by Carcopino (*Hist. de l'ostracisme athénien*, 178 ff.), and Brueckner goes too far when he claims that in this potsherd (No. 46) we have documentary evidence for the ostracism of Damon, for by itself it proves no more than that, at some undated *δοσπρακο*-

*φoπla* (later than 450, to judge by the ornamentation of the vase), at least one Athenian citizen desired that he should be ostracized.

To what occasion are we to assign our other *ostraka* (Nos. 1-45)? The absence of any vote against Pericles has been taken to indicate a date after Pericles' death; but we must bear in mind that only 45 votes out of a total of over 6,000 (cf. Carcopino, *op. cit.* 150 ff.) have survived, that the sherds bearing Pericles' name may have been separately counted and deposited at some other spot than that at which these 45 have come to light, and that, even if Thucydides outlived his ostracism, he never afterwards attained importance in Athenian political life (A. Rosenberg, *Neue Jahrb.* xxxv. 210). An ingenious theory has been advanced by Rosenberg (*op. cit.* 205 ff.) that Thucydides secured the ostracism of Damon about 447 and that of Cleïppides in one of the three following years, but succumbed in the final bout with Pericles himself in 443. He accounts for the fact that no sherd bears Pericles' name by the supposition that on this occasion (say in 445) the conservatives agreed to concentrate all their efforts upon the removal of Cleïppides, leaving Pericles to be similarly disposed of at a later time: but he too readily assumes that the proportions of the votes cast as a whole are fairly accurately reflected in the little group which chance has preserved for us. Körte, on the other hand, holds that these sherds must be unhesitatingly assigned to the famous *δοτρακοφορία* of 443 B.C. (*Ath. Mitt.* xlvii. 1 ff.).

For earlier *ostraka* see No. 15.

## 46

### Attic Tribute Quota-List: 443-2 B.C.

On the back of a massive block of Pentelic marble (see No. 30).

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*. Facs. in *Harvard Studies*, xxxvii. 72, Pl. 9.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 202 + Hill, *Sources*, ii. 12; B. D. Meritt and A. B. West, *Harvard Studies*, xxxvii. 71 ff. and Pl. 9, 10, *A. J. Arch.* xxx. 143 ff. The text given below is that of Meritt and West, *S.E.G.* v. 12, modified in accordance with their latest revision, with the addition of many quotas which can be restored with certainty or a high degree of probability.

[Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς δω]δεκά[τ]ης, ἡμ[ι] [Σ]οφίας ἐγρα[μμάτ]ευσεν Ἐλευσίνι(ος).

## Col. I

[Ἰωνικοῦ φόρου]

	[ΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Διοσιρίται]
	[Α]	[Θερμαῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρου]
5	[Α]	[Μαραθήσιοι]
	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Γρυνειῆς]
	[ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Νοτιῆς]
	[Η]	[Νισύριοι]
	[ΑΔΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Οἰναῖοι ἐχς Ἰκάρου]
10	[ΗΑ]	[Κολοφώνιοι]
	[Η]	[Μυριναῖοι παρὰ Κύμ(ην)]
	[Η]	[Λεβέδιοι]
	[Η]	[Αἰραιῆς]
	[ΗΗ]	[Φωκαῖῆς]
15	[ΑΗ]	[Τήιοι]
	[ΑΗΗΗΗ]	[Κυμαῖοι]
	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Ἐλαιῆα]
	[ΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Ἀστυρηνοὶ Μυσοί]
	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Πιταναῖοι]
20	[ΑΗΗ]	[Ἐρυθραῖοι]
	[ΓΓΓΓ]	[Ἐλαιούσιοι]
	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	[Βούθεια]
	[ΑΔΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Πολιχνῆται]
	[ΓΓΓΓ]	[Πτελεούσιοι]
25	[ΓΓΓΓΓ]	[Σιδούσιοι]
	[ΑΔΔΓ] (?)	[Γαργαρής]
	[Η]	[Μυ]ή[σσιοι]
	[Η]	Πριηνῆς
	[Η]	Πυγελῆς
30	[ΔΓΓΓΓ]	Ἰσίνδιοι
	[Α]Η	Ἐφέσιοι
	ΗΑ	Κλαζομένιοι
	Α	Μιλήσιοι

Ἐλλησποντίου φόρου

35 ΓΓΓΓΓ Παλαιπερκώσι(οι)



## Col. II

[HH]	[Ἀρισβα]ῖοι
[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Δανν]οτειχῖται
[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Διδυμ]οτειχῖται
5 [ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Λαμπ]ωνειῆς
[H]	[Δαρ]δανῆς
[Γ]	[Ὶ]Αρπαγῖανοί
[HHῘΔΔΔΓΗ]ΓΓ :	Τενέδιοι
[Ῐ]	Σηλυμβριανοί
10 [XHH]	Λαμφσακηνοί
[ΔΓΗΙ]ΙΙΙ	Σιγεί[ῆ]ς
- ΔΔΓΗΙIC :	[ΑΒ]υδηνοί
[ῘHHHH]	Χαλ[χηδ]όνιοι
[ΓΓΓΓΙΙ]	[Σή]στιοι
15 [ΓΓΓΓΙΙ]	[Λιμναῖ]οι
[ΓΓΓΓΙΙ]	[Μαδύτ]ιοι
[H]	[Χερρουησῖ]ται
[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[ῚΑλωπεκ]ον[νῆσι]οι
[ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΙΙ]	[Παρια]νοί
20 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	[Περκώ]γη
Ῐ	ῚΕλ[αι]ούσιοι
HHH	Προκουνηῖσιοι
ῘHHHH	Κυζικηνοί
ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΙΙ	ῚΑρτακηνοί
25 X	Περὶνθιο[ι]
XῘῘΔΔΓΙΙΙ	Βυζάντι[οι]

ῚΕπὶ Θράκης φόρ[ον]

ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Νεοπολ[ίτ]αι
ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Σκα[φσα]ῖοι
30 [ΔΓ]ΗΙΙΙ	Σ[κι]άθιοι
ΔΔΓ	[ῚΚ]ιοι
ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΙΙ	ῚΟ[λο]φύχσιοι
ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Σταγ[ι]ρίται
H	Θύσσιο[ι]
35 H	Διῆς ἀπ[ὸ τ]οῦ ῚΑθω

## Col. III

	Η	Στρεφσαῖοι
	Ϟ	Γαλήφσιοι
	Ϟ	Νεοπολῖται
5	ΔΔΔΤΤΤ	Αιγάντιοι
	ΗϞ	Μαρωνει[ῆ]ς
	ϞΔΓΤ	Σαναῖοι
	ϞΔΓΤ	Στώλιοι
	ΗΗ	Σπαρτώλιοι
10	ΗΗΗ	Πεπαρήθιοι
	ΗΗ	Σίγγιο[ι]
	Η	᾿Αφυτ[αῖοι]
	ϞΔΓΤ	Μη[κυπερναῖοι]
	[ΗΗ]	᾿Ο[λύνθιοι]
15	[ΔΔΔΤΤΤ  ] (?)	[Σκαβλαῖοι]
	[ΔΔΔΔ] (?)	[᾿Ασσ]η(ρ)ῖ[ται]
	[Η] (?)	[Δί]καια ᾿Ε[ρετρι(ῶν)]
	ϞΗ	[Τ]ορωναῖο[ι]
	ΗΗΗ	[᾿Α]κάνθιο[ι]
20	ϞΗΗΗΗ	[Με]νδαῖο[ι]
	Η	[᾿Αργ]ίλιο[ι]
	ϞΗ	Σκιω[ναῖοι]
	ΔΓΤ	Θραμ[βαῖοι]
	ΔΓΤ	Φηγήτιοι
25	[ΗΗ]Η	Αἰνεᾶται
	Δ[ΓΤΙ]	Φαρβήλιοι
	ΔΤΤΤ	᾿Οθώριοι
	Ϟ	Σ[ε]ρμν[λιῆς]
	ϞΗ	Σ[αμοθρᾶικες]
30	Χ	Αἴν[ιοι]
	ϞΗ	Ποτ[ειδεᾶται]
	ΔΔΓ	Α[ισώνιοι]
	[ΓΤΤΤ  ]	[Σερμῆς]

[Καρικουὸν φόρον]

85 \* [ΗΗϞΔΔ]

[Χερρονήσ]ιο[ι]

## Col. IV

	Γ††††[†]	Αὐλιῆτα[ι]
	ΔΓ††††	Καρβασνα[νδῆς]
	ϙ	Κεδριῆτα[ι]
5	ΔΔΔ††††	Κρ[υ]ῆς
	ΔΔΔ††††	Χα[λκ]εᾶτα[ι]
	ϙ	Π[α]σανδῆς
	Η	[Κ]λανδῆς
	ΗΗΗ	Φασηλῖται
10	ϙ[Η]	Ἰηλύσιοι
	ϙΗ	Καμιρῆς
	ϙΗ	Λίνδιοι
	ϙ	Τηλάνδριοι
	ϙ	Κάνυιοι
15	ϙ[ϙ]	Κῶιοι
	[Η]	Κινδυῆς
	[Η]ϙ	Ἀστυपालαιῆς
	[††]††	Πεδιῆς ἐλ Λίνδωι
	[Δ]Γ††††	[Κα]ρπάθιοι
20	[Η]ϙ	[Κερά]μιοι
	[ΗΗ]Η	[Κνίδ]ιοι
	[ΔΓ]††††[†]	[Καρπ]άθου Ἀρκέσει(α)
	[Γ]††[††]	[Ναχσι]ῆται
	[ΔΔΔ††††]	[Πλαγασῆ]ς
25	[ΗϙΔΓ††††]	[Ἀλικαρνάσσιοι]
	[Η]	[Λάτμιοι]
	[ΔΔΓ]	[Μυδόνες]
	[ΔΓ††††]	[Παρπαριῶται]
	[Η]	[Ἰασῆς]
30	[ΔΔΔΓ]	[Χαλκήτορες]
	[ΔΔΔΔ††††]	[Υρωμῆς]
	[ΔΓ††††]	[Βαργυλιῆται]
	[ΔΓ††††]	[Πύρνιοι]
	[ϙΔ]ΔΔΔΓ††††	[Μυλασῆς]
35	[Η]	[Συαγγελῆς]

## Col. V

	[ΔΓΓΓIII]	Ληφσανδῆς
	[ΓΓΓΓII]	[Κ]αρνανδῆ[s]
	[H]	Μαδναςῆς
5	[Α]	[Π]ελεᾶτ[αι]
	[ΓΓΓΓII]	[Μύν]δι[οι]
	[HΑ]	[Καλ]ύδ[νιοι]
	[Α]	[Τερ]μερ[ῆς]
	--	-----
10	--	-----
	--	-----
	[Νησιωτικοῦ φόρου]	
	[ΔΓΓΓIII]	[Σύριοι]
	H	[Σερίφιοι]
15	HH	[Τήνιοι]
	ΓHΑ[ΔΓΓΓIII]	[Νάχσιοι]
	HHH	[Σίφνιοι]
	HHH	[Κύθνιοι]
	ΓH	[Ἄνδριοι]
20	Γ	[Καρύστιο]ι
	ΔΓΓΓIII	[Γρυνχῆς]
	HHHH	[Κείοι]
	H	[Μυκόν]ιοι
	XΓHΓH[H]	[Πάρ]ιοι
25	[ΔΔΔΓΓΓII]	Δ[ι]ῆς ἀπὸ Κηναίου
	[ΔΔΔ]ΓΓΓII	Ἀθῆναι Διάδες
	[Α] (?)	Ἰῆται
	[Γ]	Ῥηναῖοι
	[H]	Στυρῆς
30	[HHH]	[Ἐ]ρετριῆς
	[HHH]	[Χ]αλκιδῆς
	[HΑ]	[Μ]υριναῖοι
	[HHH]	[Ἡ]φαιστιῆς
	[H]	[Ἰμ]βριοι
35	[XXX]	[Αἰγι]νῆται

Σάτυρος Λευκονοεὺς χσυνεγραμ[μάτενε, Σ]οφοκλῆς Κολω[νῆθεν  
Ἑλληνοταμί]ας ἦν.

For col. iii, l. 33, cf. p. 56. In col. v, ll. 9-11, we should probably restore *Θασθαρήs, Τύμνης* and *Ναρισβαρήs*, who paid 500, 3000, and 1000 dr. respectively.

For the tribute quota-lists see the commentary on No. 30. The heading of the present list gives the serial number and the name of the secretary of the Hellenotamiae, which must be restored also in the Parthenon accounts for this year (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 343, l. 87): the name of his assistant secretary, who served also in the following year (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 203, l. 2), is added at the close (l. 36), together with that of the chairman, the dramatist Sophocles, who was *στρατηγός* in 441-0 and perhaps again in a later year (*Plut. Nic.* 15).

In this list for the first time the names of the tributary states are recorded in five geographical groups under the titles *Ἰωνικοῦ φόρου*, *Ἑλλησποντίου φόρου*, *ἐπὶ Θράκης φόρου*, *Καρικοῦ φόρου*, *Νησιωτικοῦ φόρου*, and these reappear in the same order, though with slightly varying titles, in the next four years.

## 47

## Accounts of Phidias' Statue of Athena: about 440 B.C.

Upper portions of two marble stelae, found on the Acropolis; *A* is now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing: *A* not *στοιχηδόν*, *B* *στοιχηδόν*.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 355, 355a + Hill, *Sources*, iv. 74, 74a (p. 435).

## A

Θεοί : Ἀθηνᾶ : Τύχη. | Κιχῆσιππος : ἐγραμμά|τενε : ἀγάλμα-  
5 τος : ἐπι|στάτῃσι : Μυρρινοῦσιος. || Λῆμμα : παρὰ

The inscription seems to have been left unfinished.

## B

Κιχῆσιππος ἐγ[ρ]||αμμάτενε : ἀγάλ[μ]ατος : ἐπιστάτῃ[σ]||ι : Μυρρι-  
5 νοῦσιος. : [Λ]||ῆμμα : παρὰ ταμιῶν : ὅις : Δημόστρα|τος : ἐγραμμά-  
10 τευ|ε : Χρυσητῶν |. : Ταμ|ίαι : Κτησίων : Στ[ρ]||ωσίας : Ἀντι-  
φάτ[η]||s : Μένανδρος : Θ[υμ]||οχάρης : Σμόκορ[δ]||os : Φειδελεῖδ[ης].|

Ⲡⲕⲕⲕ : Χρυσίου : ἐωνήθ-

15 ⲠⲦⲦⲦ : η, : σταθμόν : ⲠⲦⲦⲦⲠⲦ

ⲪⲪⲪⲦ : τιμὴ τούτου ΔⲠⲦⲦⲦⲦⲦ

ⲠⲦⲦⲦⲦⲦⲦ

ⲦⲦⲠⲦ Ἑλέφας ἐωνήθη

ⲠΔΔΔ -----

20 ΔⲦⲦⲦ -----

The H here inserted in *B* l. 8 stands on the stone in the left margin opposite l. 6.

The ἄγαλμα in question (called ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 358 and χρυσωτὸν ἄγαλμα *ib.* 359) is Phidias' colossal chryselephantine statue of Athena, the cult-image of the Parthenon. Philochorus (quoted by the scholiast on Aristoph. *Pax*, 605) states that, in 438-7 B.C. (reading Θεοδώρου for the scholiast's Πυθοδώρου), τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεὸν τὸν μέγαν, ἔχον χρυσοῦν σταθμὸν ταλάντων μδ' (44), Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος, Φειδίου δὲ ποιήσαντος (*F.H.G.* i. 400: cf. *Diod.* xii. 39, *Plut. Per.* 13).

The extant fragments of the accounts published by the commissioners (ἐπιστάται) are collected in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 354-362, but none of them can be precisely dated. One, which is regarded by F. Hiller von Gaertringen (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 354) as the first of the series and by E. Cavaignac (*Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes*, xlviii) with less probability as a final summary of the accounts, shows receipts exceeding 700 talents. The account before us records 100 talents as received from the ταμίαι (sc. τῆς θεοῦ), of whom only seven are named, and payments of 87 tal. 4652 dr. 5 ob. for gold weighing 6 tal. 1618 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. (giving the ratio of gold to silver as 14:1; cf. No. 52, l. 22) and of 2 tal. 743 dr. on ivory.

## 48

## Athenian Casualty-List: 440-439 B.C.

Stele of Pentelic marble in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens.

Developed Attic alphabet, except VNN. Ll. 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, 72 ('Αρχέ-πολις), 94-7 seem to be later additions to the list as originally engraved. Phot. in A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 1427, Pl. ccxciii a.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 943 + Janell, 223, Wilamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, i. 144, ii. 102, and Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 52 (ll. 94-7 only); cf. Hill, *Sources*, iii. 244a (p. 432).

## Col. I

Ἐγ Χερρονήσωι

Ἀθηναίων : οἶδε

ἀπέθανον

Ἐπιτέλης : στρατηγός

5 Ἐρεχθίδος

Πυθόδωρος

Ἀριστόδικος

Τήλεφος

Πυθόδωρος

10 Αἰγηίδος

Ἐπιχάρης

	Μησίφιλος	Col. II	
	Φαιδιμίδης	45 'Εμ Βυζαντίωι	
	Λάχης	'Αθηναίων : 'οίδ[ε]	
15	Νικόφιλος	ἀπέθανον·	
	Πανδιονίδος·	'Ερεχθίδος·	
	Λυσικλῆς	Νικόστρατος	
	Λεωντίδος·	50 Φιλόκωμος	
	Χαιρῆς	Αἰγυγίδος·	
20	Οἰνητίδος·	Χίονις	
	'Ροδοκλῆς	Πανδιονίδος·	
	Εὐρύβοτος	Φιλιστίδης	
	Πολίτης		
	'Ηροκλείδης	55 Λεωντίδος·	
25	Κεκροπίδος·	Λυσίμαχος	
	'Αρίσταρχος	'Ακαμαντίδος·	
	Καρυστόνικος	Καλλισθένης	
	Θεόμνηστος	Οἰνητίδος·	
	'Αρίσταρχος	60 Κάλλιππος	
30	Εὐκράτης	Κεκροπίδος·	
	Νικόμαχος	Κνίφων	
	'Ιπποθωντίδος·	Δημοτέλης	
	Σωτελίδης	'Ιπποθωντίδος·	
	Ποσειδίππος	65 'Αίσων	
35	Αλαντίδος·	Αλαντίδος·	
	Δίφιλος	Νικόδημος	
	'Αντιοχίδος·	'Αντιοχίδος·	
	Κράτων	Φανίας	
	'Αντικράτης		
40	Εὐδοχσος	70 Πανδιονίδος·	
	'Οἶδε : ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις	Σιμωνίδης	
	πολέμοις : ἀπέθανον·	Αἰσχύλος 'Αρχέπολις	
	'Ερεχθίδος·	Σμικρίων	
	Λυσανίας		

	Χαροπίδης		Λυσίστρατος
75	Ναχσιάδης	85	Ἴπποθωντίδης·
	Λεωντίδης·		Τιμόνοθος
	Φίλων		Ἀντιφάνης
	Εὐδήμος		Αλαντίδης·
	Ἀκαμαντίδης·		Κλείνοθος
80	Πρώταρχος	90	Φίλιος
	Κεκροπίδης·		Καλλικλῆς
	Χαιρίας		Ἐλευθεράθεν·
	Ἀστυνάχης		Σημιχίδης

Across the whole breadth of the stone runs the epigram

95      Ὅϊδε παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἥβην  
           βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' εὐκλείεσσαν πατρίδα,  
           'ὥστ' ἔχθρους στενάχουμε πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας,  
           αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνήμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.

We have here three casualty-lists, relating respectively to the Thracian Chersonese (ll. 1-40), Byzantium (ll. 45-69) and 'the other wars' (ll. 41-4, 70-93), together with an epigram (ll. 94-7) referring to them all alike. The fifty-eight names are recorded under their several tribes in official order,—Eleutherae (l. 92), though part of Attica, fell outside the tribal organization,—and the uniformity with which the losses are distributed among the tribes, especially in the second list, is very remarkable.

Some scholars, following the lead of A. Kirchhoff (*Hermes*, xvii. 623 ff.), have connected this inscription with Athenian operations in the Hellespont in 408: von Domaszewski (*Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1917, 7, pp. 6, 17), on the other hand, assigned it to 422-1 B.C. The character of the writing, however, and the occurrence of the names *Καρυστόνικος* (l. 27) and *Ναξιάδης* (l. 75), the holders of which were probably born during or shortly after the Athenian wars with Carystus (c. 472 B.C.) and Naxos (469 B.C.), suggest a considerably earlier date. Byzantium, we know (Thuc. i. 115. 5), joined in the Samian revolt in the summer of 440 and capitulated early in the following year (Thuc. i. 117. 3), and disaffection seems to have been widespread in the Thracian region (Hill, *Sources*, p. 142).



## 49

## Victory of Taras over Thurii : soon after 440 B.C.

On three of the four faces of a bronze spear-butt, found at Olympia in June 1879: now in Berlin.

Laconian-Tarentine writing, avoiding curved strokes. Facs. in *Imag.* 105. 37.

Hicks-Hill, 45 + Roberts, 270; Hill, *Sources*, iii. 376; Janell, 131; Nachmanson, *H.G.I.* 19; *S.I.G.* 61. Cf. Kirehhoﬀ, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 155.

Σκῦλα ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραν|τῖνοι ἀνέθηκαν Διὶ Ὀλυ|μπίῳι δεκάταν.

The foundation of Thurii in 443 B.C. was followed by a long and bitter struggle with Taras for the possession of the territory and town of Siris. After about ten years it was agreed *συννοικῆσαι μὲν κοινῇ, τὴν δ' ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων* (Strabo, vi. 1. 14, p. 264, citing Antiochus). It was doubtless to commemorate a success won in this war that the Tarentines dedicated this spear-butt and two others similarly inscribed in the same hand (*Inschr. Olympia*, 255-6). See further Grote, pt. 2, ch. 47, Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1. 199 ff., Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 529 ff., Meyer, *G.A.* iv. 26 ff.

## 50

## Expenses of the Samian War: 440 and 439 B.C.

Stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 293 + Hill, *Sources*, iii. 260.

..... εκ - 33 - | ..... εσε - 33 - | . . . σοσα - 33 - | . . ου  
 5 Φρεα[ρριο - 29 - ]|| Η Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ - 33 - . | 'Αθηναῖοι ὁ[ν]ήλωσαν ἐπὶ  
 Μωρυχίδου ἀρχοντος ἐς τὸν] πρὸς Σαμίου[ς πόλεμον' ταμίαι ἱερῶν  
 χρημάτων τῆς] 'Αθηναίας Γ[- 17 - καὶ χουνάρχοντες]ς, τοῖς Φυρσ[μαχος  
 10 - 19 - ἐγραμμά]τενε, ταμίω[ι δὲ ? - 27 - ἐ]χς Οἶον, Νανσ - 31 - |  
 Η Η Η Η Η Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ [- 17 - παραδεχσάμενοι] παρὰ ταμιῶν ἐπὶ Τιμο-  
 κλέος ἀρχοντος, τοῖς Ἐπιχαρ[?]ῖνος Πειραι[εὺς ἐγραμμάτενε - 17 - ]||  
 15 ερων' τοι δὲ - 31 - | 'Αφιδναῖος - 31 - | Η Η Η Η Η Η Η Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ Γ - 31 - |  
 χσύμπαντος τοῦ ἐς Σαμίου? ἀναλώματος κεφάλαιον'] ἥ Η[Η]-  
 Η Η - - - - -

Professor B. D. Meritt will (*A.F.D.* 42 ff.) publish a new restoration of this text, based on a line of 93 letters, together with a full study of the document.

This inscription records the loans made from the sacred treasure of Athena in 441-440 (ll. 1-5) and 440-439 B.C. (ll. 6-17) for the purpose of the war with Samos. Unfortunately none of the amounts is perfectly preserved; but the sum total of the three surviving items (128 + 368 + 908 T.) is 1,404 T., and this agrees with the total entered in l. 19. In addition to the amount thus borrowed, the Athenians may have spent on the war some part of their current revenue (but see p. 145).

Thucydides gives no estimate of the cost of the war (i. 117. 3): Isocrates (xv. 111, where the word *νεῶν* should probably be omitted), Nepos (*Timoth.* 1) and Diodorus (xii. 28, where *χιλίων διακοσίων* must be read) reckon it at 1,200 talents. For the whole question see Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 551, note 1.

## 51

### Financial Decrees moved by Callias: 434 B.C.

A stele of white marble, of which a portion has been cut away at the foot: face A is otherwise complete and well preserved, but face B has had its margins elaborately carved, its two ends bevelled and a channel cut down its centre, and has been badly worn while serving as an altar-top. Found in a church at Charvati, Attica; now in the Louvre. For a fuller description see *J.H.S.* li. 58, *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. de France*, 1900, 147 ff.

Developed Attic writing, *στρογγύδον*: the aspirate is occasionally omitted. A and B are engraved by different hands (*J.H.S.*, *loc. cit.*). Phot. of A, Band facs. of B, *ibid.* Pl. i-iii.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 91, 92 + Böckh, *Staatshaush.* ii. 41 ff., 109\*; Hill, *Sources*, i. 107, v. 155 (cf. p. 437); W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1927, 319 ff., 1929, 273 ff.; H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 57 ff. + Kolbe's articles are reprinted in *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, ch. ii, iii. Cf. A. E. J. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne*, xiv. 113 ff.; G. Busolt, *Philol.* l. 86 ff. and *G.G.* iii. 214, note 2; P. Panske, *De magistratibus atticis qui pecunias publicas curabant*, 13 f.; E. Cavaignac, *Rev. Phil.* xxiv. 135 ff.; A. Wilhelm, *G.G.A.* 1903, 774; M. Romstedt, *Die wirtschaftliche Organisation des athenischen Reiches*, 22 ff.; G. H. Stevenson, *Cl. Rev.* xxxvii. 91, and *J.H.S.* xlv. 1 ff. (cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 17); W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxv. 184 ff.; Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1134; F. E. Adcock, *C.A.H.* v. 177; F. Noack, *Eleusis*, 309; M. Ravà, *Stud. It. Fil.* viii. 170 f.; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athens*, 153 ff.

## A

[Ἐδ]οχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μνησίθεος ἐ[γ]ραμμάτευε, Εὐπείθης ἐπεστάτει, Καλλίας εἶπε· ἀποδοῦναι

τοῖς θεοῖς | [τ]ὰ χρήματα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ  
 τρισχίλια τάλαντ[α] ἀνευήνεγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἃ ἐφσήφιστο, νομίσμα-  
 5 τος ἡμεδαποῦ· ἀποδι[[δ]όναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν  
 ἔστιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφσηφισμ[ε]να, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις  
 ὄντα νῦν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ἔστι τούτων | [τῶ]ν χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς  
 δεκάτης ἐπειδὴν πρᾶθῃ· λογισάσθων δὲ ἵ[οι λ]ογισταὶ ὅι τριάκοντα  
 ὅϊπερ νῦν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκρ[ιβῶ]ς, συναγωγῆς δὲ τῶλ  
 10 λογιστῶν ἢ βουλῇ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔστω· ἀποδόντων || [δὲ τ]ὰ χρήματα  
 ὅι πρυτάνεις μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐχσалаειφόντων ἐπει[[δὸν] ἀποδῶ-  
 σιν, ζητήσαντες τὰ τε πινάκια καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ ἕμ π[ου ἄλ]λοθι  
 ἢ γεγραμμένα· ἀποφαινόντων δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὅι τε ἱερ[ῆς κ]αὶ ὅι  
 ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος οἶδεν. Ταμίαις δὲ ἀποκυαμεύει[ν το]ύτων  
 15 τῶν χρημάτων ὅταμπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, καθάπερ τοὺς τῶν ἱ[ε]ρω[ν]  
 τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας· οὗτοι δὲ ταμιεύοντων ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ[οδό]-  
 μωι τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ συνανοηγόν[των]  
 καὶ συγκλειόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόςθω[ν]  
 τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις· παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπισ[τατῶν] καὶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅι νῦν δια-  
 20 χειρίζου[σι] || ν, ἀπαριθμησάσθων καὶ ἀποστησάσθων τὰ χρήματα  
 ἐναντίον τῆς βουλ[ῆς] ἐμ πόλει, καὶ παραδεχσάσθων ὅι ταμίαι ὅι  
 λαχόντες παρὰ τῶν νῦν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφσάντων  
 μιᾷ ἅπαντα καθ' ἕκαστόν τε | τῶν θεῶν τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα ἔστιν  
 ἐκάστωι καὶ συμπάντων κεφάλαιο[ν], χωρὶς τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ  
 25 χρυσίον· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναγραφόντων ἵ[οι αἰεὶ] ταμίαι ἐς στήλην καὶ  
 λόγον διδόντων τῶν τε ὄντων χρημάτων | καὶ πῶν προσιόντων τοῖς  
 θεοῖς καὶ ἕάν τι ἀ[π]αναλίσκηται κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πρὸς τοὺς  
 λογιστὰς καὶ εὐθύνας διδόντων· καὶ ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια  
 τὸλ λόγον διδόντων, καθάπερ ὅι τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ[α]μιεύοντες· τὰς δὲ  
 30 στήλας, ἐν αἷς ἂν ἀναγράψωσι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἱερ[ῆ] θ[ε]ῶν ἐμ πόλει  
 ὅι ταμίαι. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποδεδομένα ἦι τοῖς θεοῖς [τὰ χρ]ήματα, ἐς τὸ  
 νεώριον καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ τοῖς περιούσι χρῆσθαι χρήμασ[ιν] - - -

## B

[Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 Μνησιθέ[ος] ἐγραμμάτευε, Ε[ὐπ]ε[ῖ]θης [ἐπεστάτει, Κ]αλλίας [εἰπ[ε]  
 ἐκποιῆσαι τὰ | βάθρα τὰ λ[ε]θνα καὶ τὰς Ν[ε]κας τὰς χ[ρ]υσᾶς καὶ τὰ  
 Πρ[ο]πύλαια· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐκποι[η]θῇ παντελῶς, [ἐπισκ]έφ[σει] χρῆσθαι  
 5 ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ νοτόθεν ἀ[ρ]χσαμένους] κατὰ τὰ ἐφσηφισμένα] καὶ τὴν

ἀκρόπολιν [ῥορίσαι(?) πλη]ν μὴ τὰ ἐχσει[ργμένα καὶ ἐπι]σκευά[ζειν  
 δέκα τάλαντα ἀ[ναλίσκοντα]ς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ἕως [ἀν ποιη]θῇ  
 καὶ ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ οἰκο[δομήματα (?)· ἐ]πιστατοῦντ[ων] δ[ὲ] τῷ  
 10 ποι[εῖν] [ὧ]σπερ τῶ[ν] Προ[πυλαίων]· οὗ||τος δὲ ἐπιμ[ελέσθω] μετὰ  
 τῶ[ν] ἐπιστ[α]τῶν ὅπως ἄριστ[α καὶ λαμπρό]τατα κοσμηθ[ή]σεται  
 ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἐπισκευασθ[ή]σεται τὰ δεό[μενα]. Τοῖς δ[ὲ] ἄλλοις  
 χρήμα[σιν] τοῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίας τοῖς τε νῦν οὔσι|ν ἐμ πόλει καὶ ἄττ'  
 ἀν τ[ὸ] λο[ιπὸν] ἀν[α]φέρηται μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἀπα[ναλίσκειν] ἀπ'  
 15 αὐτῶν ἐ[ς] ἄλλο [μηδὲν ἢ] ἐς ταῦτα ὑπὲρ μυ[ρ]ί[ας] δραχμὰ||ς ἢ ἐς  
 ἐπισκ[ε]υὴν ἑάν τι δέη[ι, ἐς ἄλλο] δὲ μηδὲν χρῆσθ[ῃ] τοῖς χρήμα[σιν]  
 ἐὰν μὴ τ[ὴν] ἄδειαν φσηφί[σ]ται ὁ δῆμος καθάπερ ἐ[ὰν] φσηφίσητ[αι]  
 περὶ ἐσφ[ο]ράς· ἐὰν δέ τις [εἴπη] ἢ ἐπιφσηφί[σ]ῃ μὴ ἐ[φσηφισμένη]ς  
 πω τῆς ἀ[δ]είας χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμα[σιν] τοῖς τῆς Ἀθη[ναίας,  
 ἐνεχέ[σθω] τοῖς αὐ[τοῖς] οἷσπερ ἐά[ν] τις ἐσ[φ]έρειν εἴ[πη] ἢ ἐπιφ[ση]-  
 20 φίσῃ νυν. || Καὶ ἐς πόλ[ιν] κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ] τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοτε]  
 γενό[μενα] παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαι τῶν [τῆς] Ἀθ[η]ναίας τοὺς Ἑλληνο[ταμίαι]  
 ἐπε[ιδὸν] δ' ἀπὸ τῶν διακοσίων τα[λάντων] ἂ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[σηφίσατο]  
 25 ἡ δῆμος τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀ[ποδοθ]ῇ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μεινέσθω]  
 τ[ὰ] μὲν τῆς Ἀθ[η]ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεχσιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδούμου],  
 τὰ δ[ὲ] τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά vacat. [[ῥΟπόσα δὲ τῶν  
 χρημάτων τῶν [ιερώ]ν ἄστατά ἐστιν ἢ ἀν[αρίθμητα, ἢ]οι ταμίαι ἢ]οι  
 νῦν μετὰ τῶν τεττάρων ἀρχῶν, αἰ ἐδίδο[σαν] τὸν νῦν | λόγον ἐκ  
 Πα[ρα]θηναίων ἐς Παρ[αθ]ήνια, ὅποσα μέγ χροῖσά ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἢ  
 ἀργυρᾷ ἢ ὑπάργυρα στή[σαντων], τὰ δ[ὲ] ἄλλ[α] ἀριθμησάντων . . | - -

In the above text I follow I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 91 for A; for B I accept the restoration proposed by Wade-Gery, although, as he himself recognizes, the mutilated condition of the stone makes certainty unattainable and renders his proposals highly conjectural at many points. To some of these attention is drawn in the commentary which follows.

The questions whether the text on the obverse and that on the reverse of this stele belong to a single decree or to two, and, in the latter case, what is their chronological relation to each other, have been often discussed and variously answered. If, however, Wade-Gery's reading and restoration of B 1, 2 are correct, as seems almost certain (*J.H.S.* li. 59<sup>7</sup>), these questions may now be regarded as settled: we have here two decrees moved by Callias and ratified by the people

on the same day (for the name of the ἐπιστάτης, a magistrate whose term of office lasted for a single day, is the same in both). Yet this discovery does not solve the problem of date: we have still to determine the year in which these measures were passed and whether their publication on marble followed immediately, as is antecedently probable, or only after a considerable interval.

It is highly probable (*B* 27, 28) that the decrees were passed in the first year of a Panathenaic quadriennium and before the elections for the following year had taken place (*A* 14). But 438-7 (or any earlier year) is excluded because the Propylaea had not yet been begun, while 430-29 and 426-5 are incompatible with the data of No. 64; Beloch has argued in favour of 418-7, but his case is weakened, if not destroyed, by *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 370. There remain for consideration 434-3 and 422-1. A date shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War is accepted, at least for *A*, by the majority of scholars and has recently been advocated afresh by W. Kolbe, while for 422-1 a plea has been still more recently advanced by Wade-Gery.

The name Callias was common at Athens and proves nothing. If, as is likely, the mover of Nos. 57, 58 is the στρατηγός, Callias son of Calliades, who fell at Potidaea in 432 (*Thuc.* i. 63. 3), the mover of No. 73 must be a different man, perhaps the son of Hipponicus. The Callias of our decrees may be either, or neither, of these.

On the consistent use of *συν*-, instead of *χσυν*-, in compounds (*A* 9, 16, 17, 23) no stress can be laid (*G.A.I.* 220 f.), but the forms Ἑλληνοταμίαις (*A* 6), ταμίαις (*A* 18), and αἵς (*A* 29) favour the later date, though the earlier form ταμίαισι occurs in *B* 21 (see *J.H.S.* li. 78 ff.). The character of the writing is indecisive: so great an expert as Dr. Wilhelm regards it as clearly akin to that of No. 55 (433 B.C.) on the one hand and of No. 71 (420 B.C.) on the other (*Jahresh.* vi. 15). For these reasons some scholars, who think that the decrees (or at least decree *A*) must on historical grounds be assigned to the period of Pericles' ascendancy, hold that, for some unexplained cause, they were not engraved on marble until after the Peace

of Nicias. It is hardly possible, however, that this did not take place until after 411 B.C., as Hicks and Hill suggest (p. 84).

Among the arguments to which the supporters of the earlier date appeal three may be emphasized. (1) In *A* 13 ff. it is enacted that a body of *ταμίαι* of 'the other gods', similar to the *ταμίαι* of Athena, be appointed by lot at the ἀρχαιρεσίαι, and one of their duties is (l. 22 f.) that of publishing on a stele a list of the treasures under their charge, entering separately those of each god and distinguishing between objects of gold and of silver. Now there is abundant evidence (*J.H.S.* li. 66) for the existence of *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* early in the Archidamian War, and a list exactly answering these requirements survives (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 310; cf. *J.H.S.* li. 83 f.), bearing the names of five *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλ[λων θεῶν]* and certainly dated in 429–8 B.C. Moreover, it contains a reference (l. 96 ff.) to the board of the previous year, so that such *ταμίαι* must have already existed in 430–29. (2) In *B* 27 ff. *οἱ ταμίαι οἱ νῦν* (if Wade-Gery's restoration is correct; and in any case these officials were almost certainly referred to in this clause) are directed to weigh the *ἱερὰ χρήματα* in precious metal and to count the rest, if they have not yet been weighed or counted. Now from 434 onwards Athena's treasurers make an annual inventory, with weights and numbers, of the sacred objects stored in the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and 'Parthenon' (Nos. 69, 70, 78). (3) In 422 B.C. the debt due to the 'other gods' probably exceeded 1000 talents (Wade-Gery, *Cl. Rev.* xliv. 164, based on No. 64): but the debt envisaged by Callias can be paid out of 200 talents (*B* 22) and yet leave a substantial balance (*A* 31).

To the first argument the advocates of a later date reply (see especially Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 347 ff., Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 64 ff.) that the phrases *τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν* (*A* 18) and *οἱ ταμίαι οἱ νῦν* (*B* 27) refer to *ταμίαι* of the 'other gods' as already in office when the decrees were passed, and so preclude the possibility of interpreting *A* 13 ff. as ordering their *first* appointment. A provisional body of such *ταμίαι*, perhaps five in number, had, it is held, existed since 431, when the evacuation of the Attic countryside necessitated such a step (*J.H.S.* li. 67), but Callias' decree reorganized it on the model of Athena's

treasurers, perhaps changing its number and mode of appointment, and clearly defined its future functions. To the second argument it is replied that Callias 'is concerned with the Treasure (mainly money) in the Opisthodomos, a different thing from the sacred ornaments and vessels listed by Athena's Tamiai in our extant lists' (*J.H.S.* li. 77), while to the third Wade-Gery answers (*ibid.* 68 ff.) that the debts referred to by Callias may represent miscellaneous claims not included in the account of the λογισταί (No. 64), for which the state admitted liability, and suggests that in the Attic year 422-1 well over 4000 talents (the total debt due to the 'other gods' plus 3000 on account to Athena) were paid into the Temple Treasures. The possibility of so large a payment he explains by the hypothesis of a sinking-fund, begun in 433, which accumulated in the hands of, or was invested by, the Hellenotamiae, and he interprets the double phrase used in *A* 6, 7 (τά τε . . . χρημάτων) as 'realized and unrealized investments of the Hellenotamiae'.

On the subject of the Athenian public funds, vitally connected with the problems of this inscription, see Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 88 ff.; Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 324 ff.; M. A. Levi, *Atti Torino*, lvi. 113 ff.; G. H. Stevenson, *J.H.S.* xlv. 1 ff.; W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1929, 273 ff. (= *Thukydides*, 68 ff.); H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 68 ff.; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*.

Decree *A* may be summarized as follows:

(1) Prescript (ll. 1, 2).

(2) The 3000 talents voted to Athena having been deposited in the Acropolis, the debts due to the other gods shall be repaid from the sum now in the hands of the Hellenotamiae and other moneys in the same fund, together with the amount realized by the δεκάτη: the sums due shall be computed by the thirty λογισταί (see p. 52) and paid by the prytanes, who shall search for and cancel all the relative vouchers (ll. 2-13). [The δεκάτη (l. 7) may be interpreted either as a charge of 10 per cent. on the produce of state lands in the occupation of private citizens, or as a duty of 10 per cent. levied in the Empire, whether that instituted, or re-instituted, at Chryso-polis by Alcibiades in 410-9 (*Xen. Hell.* i. 1. 22; *Polyb.* iv. 44)

and renewed by Thrasybulus in 390-89 (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 27, 31; Dem. xx. 60), or some other (M. Romstedt, *Wirtschaftliche Organisation des athen. Reiches*, 22 ff.).]

(3) Treasurers of this fund shall be annually appointed by lot at the ἀρχαιεσται, like those of Athena, with whom they shall co-operate, receiving the treasures of the gods in presence of the βουλὴ from the authorities of the local temples [thus Kolbe interprets the phrase παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν κτλ. of ll. 18, 19: Beloch and Wade-Gery regard these ταμίαι as members of the college, already in being, of ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν], guarding them in the Opisthodomos and publishing a complete and detailed record of them (ll. 13-24).

(4) In future these ταμίαι shall exhibit annually on the Acropolis an audited record of balances, receipts, and expenses for the Panathenaic year (ll. 24-30).

(5) After the debt owed to the gods has been paid, the surplus shall be used for the dockyards and the walls (ll. 30-2).

Here the extant text breaks off: how much more the decree contained it is impossible to say.

Decree *B*, if correctly restored above, runs thus:

(1) Prescript, identical with that of *A* (ll. 1, 2).

(2) Certain specified works on the Acropolis shall be completed [In ll. 2, 3 Preuner restores [ἐκποιεῖν τὰ ἐναίεττα τὰ λίθινα (cf. No. 52, ll. 34-6); for ἐκποιῆσαι (l. 2), ἐκτελέσαι might be substituted. The golden Νίκαι (l. 3) may be those referred to in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 368 (if rightly restored) as erected in 426-5 B.C. For the Propylaea see No. 53; Kolbe claims that any serious proposal to complete the Propylaea cannot have been accepted after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War], a survey then made according to a previous decree, and necessary works of enclosure (?) and repair carried out at an annual cost of ten talents (ll. 2-8). [In ll. 4-5 Kirchner restores ἀπ[ολογιζομένου]ς τῇ βουλῇ] (cf. *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 844. 55), Kolbe suggests ἀπ[. . . . . τοὺς | ἐπιστάτας]; in ll. 5-6 [μετακοσμεῖν (or ἐκποιεῖν τε) | κατὰ τὰ γεγ]ραμένα has been proposed, but this involves an error of spelling, and Wade-Gery thinks that the letter following ρ is γ rather than α and refers ἐχσει]ργμένα to τεμένη such as those of Artemis Brauronia and Pandrosus.]



(3) The work shall be supervised by the *ταμίαι* [presumably of Athena], who shall order the preparation of plans by the architect: the latter shall supervise, in conjunction with the *ἐπιστάται*, the necessary building and repairs (ll. 8-12). [In ll. 8-9 Kirchner restored [τὸ γράμμα κε|λευόντων ἔν]α τῶν ἀρχι-τεκ[τόνων πο]εῖν, but he now accepts Preuner's attractive conjecture [τὸ παράδειγ|μα Μησικλέ]α τὸν ἀρχιτέκ[τονα ποι]εῖν.]

(4) Apart from these purposes and needed repairs, no sum over 10,000 drachmas shall be paid out of Athena's funds without a previous vote of indemnity (ll. 12-19). [With this provision cf. Thuc. ii. 24, viii. 15; for the *ἄδεια* see No. 75, ll. 30, 58.]

(5) The Hellenotamiae shall deposit their receipts in the Acropolis with the *ταμίαι* of Athena [If κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν means 'in the course of the year' (cf. A 26, 27) rather than 'annually', the restoration *γενόμενα* in ll. 20-1 is preferable to J. Christ's *περίοντα* (= surplus)], and when the debts to the 'other gods' have been paid, the treasures of Athena shall be stored in the right half of the Opisthodomos, those of the 'other gods' in the left half (ll. 20-5). [In ll. 19, 20 Professor West reads [κα|τὰ δὲ τὸ νῦν] κτλ. and thinks that this clause contains a temporary measure, valid only for the period while the money was being repaid to the other gods.]

(6) Unweighed or unnumbered treasures shall be weighed or numbered by the present *ταμίαι* together with the four colleges of the preceding quadriennium (ll. 26-9). [This clause refers, I think, to the treasurers of Athena, with whom decree B is mainly concerned, as A is with those of the 'other gods'. Perhaps this difference explains why Callias moved two decrees and not one. Wade-Gery's restoration of ll. 26-7 is in my judgement greatly preferable to the ἀν[ἀριθμα, ταῦ]τα ἀριθμῆσαι of his predecessors, and I accept his νῦν at the close of l. 27, though not without misgivings, as it is questionable whether the current restoration ἀεί is legitimate in Attic inscriptions of this century (*J.H.S.* li. 83). I cannot agree that by τῶν τετάρων ἀρχῶν are denoted 'all the former *ταμίαι* who are living and present in Athens', as is held by Hicks and Hill and by Dittenberger (*S.I.G.* 91, note 15).]

## 52

## Building-Accounts of the Parthenon: 434-3 B.C.

On a stele of Pentelic marble, originally set up on the Acropolis; most of the twenty-one extant fragments are in the Epigraphical Museum.

Fully developed Attic writing, usually *στοιχηδόν*. Phot. in Cavaignac, *Études*, li ff., figs. 13-29.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 352 + Roberts-Gardner, 115. Cf. A. H. Smith, *J.R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 131 f.

Τοῖς ἐπιστάτησι, τοῖς Ἀντικλῆς ἐγραμμάτευ[ε], ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης  
5 καὶ δεκάτης βουλῆς, ἡμεῖς Μεταγέννης πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ  
Κράτῃτος ἀρχ[οντος] Ἀθηναίοισιν, λίμματα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου  
τάδε· ||

10	ΧΗΗΗ	περιγεγόμενον
	ΗΠΔΔ	μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου
		ἐνιαυτοῦ
	ΠΔΔ	χρυσοῦ στατήρης
		[Λαμψο]ακηνοί
15	ΔΔΠΣΣ	[χρυσοῦ] στατήρης
	ἑκτη :	Κ[υζικην]οί
		παρὰ ταμιῶν, [οἱ τὰ]
	ΜΜΠ :	τῆς θεοῦ [ἐτ]αμίει[ον],
		τοῖς Κράτῃς ἐγρ[α]-
20		μμάτευε Λαμπρε[ύς]
	ΧΗΗΗ	χρυσίου πραθέ[υτος]
	ΠΔΔΠ	σταθμὸν ΠΔΔΔ[ΔΠΠΠ]
		τιμὴ τούτου
	ΧΗΗΗ	ἐλέφαντος [πρα]θ[έν]-
25	ΠΙΠΠ	τος σταθμῶ[ν.] ΤΤ
		ΠΔ : τιμὴ τ[ούτου]
		ἀναλώματα
	-- ΗΗ :	ὠνημάτων
	-- ΠΠ :	
30	---	μισθωμάτων
	---	<i>vacat</i>
	ΧΧ--	[ῥ]υπουργοῖς Πεντελῆ-
	ΗΗΔ[Δ]	[σι καὶ λίθους ἀνατιθ]-
	ΠΠ	εῖσι ἐπὶ τὰ κύκλα

Μ<sup>Ρ</sup>ΧΗΗ ἀγ[αλματοπο]ιοῖς  
 35 Η<sup>Ρ</sup>ΔΔΔ ἐνα[ιετίων μι]σθός·  
 ΔΗΗ  
 [Χ]<sup>Ρ</sup>ΗΗΗ καταμ[ηνίο]ς.  
 [ - - - ] περ[ι ἐ[γέν]ετο  
 [ - - - ] τοῦ ἐνιαυτ[οῦ] τοῦ[του]  
 40 [Ξ<sup>Ρ</sup>ΞΞ] χρυσοῦ στατήρες]  
 [Λαμφσακηνοί]  
 [ΞΞΞ<sup>Ρ</sup>ΣΣ] χρυσοῦ στατήρες]  
 [ἐκτη : Κυζικηνοί].

The building of the Parthenon occupied fifteen years, from 447-6 to 433-2 B.C. On its completion the Commissioners (ἐπιστάται) appointed to supervise the construction caused the accounts to be engraved on a marble stele, thus:

Front.			Right side.	Back.			Left side.
447-6 (339)	445-4 (cont.)	443-2 (cont.)		441-0 (345)	439-8 (347)	437-6 (349)	
446-5 (340)	444-3 (342)	442-1 (344)	434-3 (352)	440-39 (346)	438-7 (348)	436-5 (350)	433-2 (353)
445-4 (341)	443-2 (343)					435-4 (351)	

The figures in brackets indicate the respective texts in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. The reconstruction of the stele owes much to the masterly studies of W. B. Dinsmoor (*A.J.Arch.* xvii. 53 ff., xxv. 233 ff.), whose 'historical summary' (xxv. 242 ff.) merits careful study.

Of these annual accounts that before us is the best preserved. Anticles (l. 2) had acted as co-secretary to the Commissioners certainly since 443-2 and probably from the outset: in 436-5, when the work was drawing to a close, he became sole secretary and remained such to the end. Metagenes (l. 4), the first secretary of Council in 434-3, may well be the same who in the following year served as στρατηγός (No. 55, l. 20).

The receipts (ll. 8-26) consist of (a) the balance brought forward from the preceding year, (b) 25,000 drachmas from the Treasurers of the Goddess, and (c) 2,677 drachmas 4 obols realized by the sale of surplus gold and ivory. For the restoration of l. 22 cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.Arch.* xvii. 75.

The expenses (ll. 27-37) are classified as (a) purchases and (b) wages: the latter are paid to those who quarried and loaded marble at Pentelicus, the statuaries engaged on the pediment-sculptures (cf. A. Rumpf, *Jahrb.* xl. 29 ff.) and the salaried members of the staff.

The balance carried forward to 433-2 includes the 70 Lampsacene and 27 $\frac{1}{8}$  Cyzicene gold staters which pass unchanged throughout the accounts of these fifteen years.

The receipts in earlier years include sums paid by the Hellenotamiae, the *ξενοδίκαι*, the *τειχοποιοί* and the *ταμίαι* 'Ἡφαιστικοῦ ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, but unfortunately most of the figures have perished. In 444-3 B.C. 95,822 drachmas appear to have been received from the Treasurers of the Goddess, 90,000 from the *τρηροποιοί* and 42,675 drachmas 5 obols from the Hellenotamiae; in all probability this last sum represents the *ἀπαρχή* on a tribute of 426 talents 4,550 drachmas received in that year (but cf. p. 56).

## 53

## Building-Accounts of the Propylaea: 434-3 B.C.

On the back of a stele of Pentelic marble, originally erected on the Acropolis; seventeen fragments are in the Epigraphical Museum, two are missing.

Fully developed Attic writing, not consistently *στοιχηδόν*.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 366+ Cf. A. H. Smith, *J.R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 133; W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 285 f.

[Θεοί: 'A]θηναία [: Τύχη].

[Ἐπὶ τῆς τετ[άρτης ἀρχῆς, 'ἦι Διογέ[νης ἐ]γγ[αμμάτευε]  
....., ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, 'ἦι Μετα[γένης] πρ[ώτος ἐ]γραμ[μ]  
[μάτευε, ἐπὶ]στάται: 'Αρί[στυλ]λος Μ[ελετιεύς], Μι .....

5 ..... s, Δίκτυς Κο[ι]λέ[υς], Τιμ[όστρατος] Κε .....  
[..... Θ]οραιεύς· τοῦτοις λ[ήμματα] τ[οῦ] ἐν[αυτοῦ] τάδε·  
- - ΗΗΗΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ παρὰ τῶμ πρ[οτέρων] ἐπιστατ[ῶν], 'οῖς]

'Επικλῆς ἐγρα[μμάτευ]ε Θορίκ[ιος]

- - - - παρὰ ταμιῶν, 'οἱ τὰ τῇ]ς θεοῦ ἐτα[μίειον],

10 'οῖς Κράτης ἐγγ[αμμά]τευε Λαμπ[τρέυς]

[- - - - π]αρά 'Ελληνοταμ[ιῶν], 'οῖς Πρωτόν[ικος]  
[ἐ]γραμ[μ]μάτευε Κερ[αμεύς], τοῦ χυσμ[αχ]-  
[ικοῦ φόρ]ου μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ [τα]λάντων

[- - - - - παρὰ ταμίων Ἡφα[ισ]τικοῦ ἀπὸ Α[αυ]ρ[είου]  
 15 . . . . . ο . το[. . τ]ῶμ πέντε μ[ε]ρῶν  
 [- - - - - παρὰ Ἑλληνοταμιῶν ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς τιμῇ  
 - - - - - σίππου Ἀγρυλῆθε[ν]  
 [- - - - - παρὰ Τιμοσθένου[s]

A small fragment from the close of this year's accounts survives, ending [παρέδομεν τοῖς νέοις ἐπιστάταισι].

The building of the Propylaea was begun in 437-6, after the completion of Phidias' chryselephantine Athena (cf. No 47), and had been in progress for five years when the imminence of the Peloponnesian War led to its suspension (Plut. *Per.* 13). Five Commissioners (ἐπιστάται) were appointed annually to supervise the work, and their accounts were engraved on a marble stele, those of the first three years on its obverse, those of the fourth and fifth on the reverse. The texts are collected in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 363-7, but the best discussion of them is that by W. B. Dinsmoor in *A.J.Arch.* xvii. 371 ff. (cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxviii. 836 ff.).

The receipts in 434-3 (ll. 6-18) consist of (a) the balance brought forward from the preceding year, (b) a sum received from the Treasurers of the Goddess, (c) the annual ἀπαρχή of the tribute of the allies, paid by the Hellenotamiae, (d) the revenue derived from a silver mine (?) at Laurium, and (e) a further sum from the Hellenotamiae ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς (cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 365. 14-16). Of these, (c) and (d) had been paid to the Commissioners of the Parthenon (see note on No. 52), but were transferred, probably in 437-6, to those of the Propylaea.

Unfortunately few figures survive, and we cannot estimate from them the cost of the Propylaea: those few, however, leave the impression that the sums which passed through the Commissioners' hands were not very large. According to Harpocration (s.v. Προπύλαια ταῦτα), Heliodorus stated that the building cost 2,012 talents; but, though many eminent scholars have accepted this figure (e.g. G. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 493 f., E. Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 99, and most recently W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1929, 280 ff.), it seems almost incredibly large

(Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 335 f.) and may, as E. Cavaignac suggests (*Études sur l'hist. fin. d'Athènes*, 102 f.), represent the combined cost of the Parthenon, its cult-image and the Propylaea.

## 54

## Accounts of the Delian Temples: 434-2 B.C.

Fragment of a marble stele, discovered at Athens; now lost.

Ionic writing: the numerals are slightly larger than the remaining letters.  
Only ll. 1-6 στοιχηδόν.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 377 + Roberts-Gardner, 121; Hill, *Sources*, i. 60a (p. 424).

- 5 - - α - -, | Διοφ - -, | Ξανθῆς, | Βουλακλῆς, || Δημοθάλης, | Ἀναξί-  
 δημοσ. | [- - - παρ]ὰ Δηλίων ὀφειλόντ[ων - - | - - -] ἐγένετο καὶ αἱ  
 10 παρα[- - | . . . κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου] σύμπαν ϞϞϞϞϞϞΔΔ - - || - 17 -  
 σιον τὸ βαλανεῖον ὥρισαν τ[- - | - 8 - ὠκοδ]όμησαν, τὴν Ῥήνειαν  
 ὥρισαν ἀν - - | - 11 - ἐδάνευσαν ϞΤΤΤΤΔΔ: ἐπιδε[κάτοις τόκοις  
 πέντε ἔτη, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τοῦ]ς δανεισαμένους ϜΤΤΤΧΧΧΔ [τό  
 τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ὦν | ἐδα]νείσαντο· χρόνος ἀρχεὶ Μετα-  
 15 γεινῶν μὴν Ἀθῆν[ησιν] ἀρχοντος Κράτητος, || ἐν] Δήλῳ δὲ Βου-  
 φονίων μὴν ἀρχοντος Εὐπτέρους. [Τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ τὴν | ἱερὰν  
 ἐμίσθωσαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [. . . δέκα ἔτη· χρόνος  
 ἀρ[χ]εὶ Ποσιδηῶν μὴν Ἀθῆν[ησιν] ἀρχοντος Κράτητος, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ  
 Ποσιδηῶν μ[ὴ]ν ἀρχοντος Εὐπτέρους, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὴν μίσθωσ[ιν]  
 ἀπάντων τούτων τοὺς με[μ]ίσθωμένους κατὰ τὰς ξυγγραφάς· μισθώ-  
 20 σεως κεφ[ά]λαιον τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἔτους || ϞϞϞΔΓΓ: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων  
 ἐτῶν: ϞϞϞϞ [- c. 7 - Τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Ῥηνε]ῖαι τὴν ἱερὰν ἐμίσθωσαν  
 δέκα ἔτη· χρόνος [ἀρχεὶ Ἀθῆν[ησιν] Γαμηλιῶν] μὴν ἀρχοντος Ἀψεύδους,  
 ἐν Δήλῳ ἱερὸς [μὴν ἀρχοντος - c. 11 -]ρον, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὸν  
 μεμισθωμέ[νον] ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους τὴν μίσθ[ω]σιν: ΤΧΗΔ: Τὴν θάλατ-  
 25 ταν τὴν πο - - - || . . . τὴν ἐν Ῥηνεῖαι ἐμίσθωσαν δέκα [ἔτη - - -

This record, published at Athens and probably also at Delos (cf. T. Homolle, *B.C.H.* viii. 282) by the officials entitled Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες (see No. 85), who administered the temples of Apollo and Artemis at Delos, relates to the archonships of Crates (ll. 14, 17) and Apseudes (l. 22), i.e. to the years 434-3 and 433-2 B.C. It falls into six sections:

(α) The end of a list of names, probably Delian rather than Athenian (ll. 1-6).

(b) A mutilated clause apparently dealing with the recovery of debts (ll. 7-9).

(c) A clause referring to the demarcation of temple properties and the loan of 9 talents 20 drachmas for five years at 10 per cent. interest (ll. 9-15).

(d) A lease of temple property in Delos for [ten] years (ll. 15-20).

(e) A lease of sacred land in Rhenea for ten years at an annual rent of 1 talent 1,110 drachmas (ll. 20-4).

(f) Opening words of a lease of fishing rights in Rhenea for ten years (ll. 24, 25). The *θάλαττα* is probably a pond or lagoon rather than the open sea (cf. Strabo, xiv. 1. 26).

In the earlier days of the Delian League Delos had served as its religious centre, the meeting-place of its representative council and the treasury of its funds. It must thus have come more and more under Athenian influence, but we do not know under what circumstances or at what date the Athenians first appointed *Ἀμφικτύονες* to administer the temple property and finances. In the winter of 426-5 they 'purified' the whole island and in the following spring organized a quadriennial festival there with musical, gymnastic, and equestrian contests (Thuc. iii. 104: cf. P. Stengel, *R.E.* iv. 2433 ff.). Early in 422 they expelled all the Delians from the island (Thuc. v. 1, Diod. xii. 73), but in 421 they allowed them to return, at the behest of the Delphian oracle, after the conclusion of the Peace of Nicias (Thuc. v. 32. 1, Diod. xii. 77).

The restoration *Γαμηλιών* (l. 21) is uncertain. Kirchhoff (*I.G.* i. 283) and Hiller von Gaertringen (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 377) read *Θαργηλιών*, presumably on the ground that the Delians are said to have kept 6th Thargelion as the birthday of Artemis (Diog. Laert. ii. 44). But Homolle has shown reason for thinking that the Delian *Ἱερὸς μῆν* synchronized with the latter part of the Attic Gamelion and the earlier part of Anthesterion (*B.C.H.* v. 29 f.); of these two names, *Γαμηλιών* is recommended by considerations of space.





The board of Treasurers of which Crates was secretary (ll. 4-6) held office from the Panathenaea, 434, to the Panathenaea, 433, when it was succeeded by the board of which Euthias was secretary (ll. 15-18).

The restoration *πρώτης* in l. 22 is almost certain and carries with it *Αἰαντίδος* in l. 10. The only alternative is to restore *τρίτης* in l. 22 and *Λεωντίδος* in l. 10, but in that case the interval separating the despatch of the two squadrons becomes nearly three months instead of three weeks, which is hardly compatible with Thucydides' narrative.

The names of the generals in command of the first detachment are the same on the stone as in Thucydides (i. 45), though the latter follows his usual practice in using the patronymic in place of the demotic. But with regard to the reinforcing generals (ll. 19-21) there is a marked discrepancy, for Thucydides speaks of *αἱ εἰκοσι νῆες . . . ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λαέγγου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου* (i. 51. 4), while the stone names Glaucon, Metagenes (for the restoration see H. Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes u. die hist. Kritik*, 600) and Dracontides. Whether Thucydides himself was at fault or an early copyist we cannot determine: the MSS. are unanimous and Plutarch evidently read the text as we do (*Vit. X Orat.* ii. 1. 2). But the mistake becomes explicable if we suppose that this Dracontides was son of Leogoras of the deme Thorae (*R.E.* v. 1663 f., *P.A.* 4551) and might therefore be confused with Andocides son of Leogoras *Κυδαθηναίεύς*, who had been *στρατηγός* in 441-0 B.C. (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 284, l. 66). If this supposition is correct, this Dracontides may well have been the *ἐπιστάτης* of No. 42, l. 2, and have taken part later in the attack on Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 32), but he must be distinguished from his namesake of Aphidna, who figures among the Thirty Tyrants (*Αθ. πολ.* 34. 3, Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2).

## 56

## Attic Tribute Quota-List: 433-2 B.C.

On the left side of a large block of Pentelic marble (see No. 30).

Developed Attic writing: *στρογγύδον*, but with occasional irregularities; facs. in *Harvard Studies*, xxxviii. 26, Pl. 4.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 212 + Hill, *Sources*, ii. 19; A. B. West, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 133 f.,

*Cl. Phil.* xxi. 253; *B. D. Meritt, A. J. Arch.* xxxiii. 383; *West and Meritt, Harvard Studies*, xxxviii, 27 ff., 35 ff., and *Pl.* 4, 12. The text here given is that of *West and Meritt, S.E.G.* v. 22, modified according to their latest revision and supplemented by certain quotas from *S.E.G.* v. 20, 23.

Ἐπὶ [τῆς δυοκαiei]κοστ[ῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ] | Φιλε - 10 - |έκτου - 10 - ||  
5 ἐγραμ[μάτευε, Ἐλ]ληνοτ[αμίας ἦν Δι]ονύσιος - - -

## Col. I

[Ἴ]ωνικὸς φόρος

- -	Καύνιοι
10 - -	Τηλάνδριοι :
- -	Πασανδῆς
[ΔΓΓΙΙΙ]	[Καρβα]σανδῆ[s]
	[παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[v]
Δ[ΔΔΓΓΓΙΙ]	[Νοτιῆς]
15 ΓΓΓ[ΓΓ]	[Αὐλ]μάται
ΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓΓ]	[Μαρ]αθήσιοι
ΔΓΓΙΙΙ	[Ἰσί]νδιοι
ΗΗ	[Ἀσ]τυπαλαιῆς
Χ	[Λι]νδιοι
20 ϜΔΔΔ	[Πεδ]ιῆς
ΓΓΓΙΙ	[ἐγ Λίνδ]ον
ΗΗΗ	[Χερρονή]σιοι
[Δ]ΓΓΓΙΙΙ	Πύ[ρ]νιοι
[Γ]ΓΓΓΓ	Ν[αχσιᾶτ]αι
25 - -	Ι . . . . ιοι
[ΗΗΗ]	Κ[ολοφ]ώνιοι
- -	[Ἰδυμῆ]ς
[Ϝ]	[Πελεᾶ]ται
- -	- - - -
30 - -	- - - -
- -	- - - -
[ΔΓΓΓΙΙΙ]	[Ἐλαιᾶ]
	[παρὰ Μ]ύριναν
[Ϝ]	[Θερμαῖ]οι
35	[ἐχς Ἰκάρ]ον
5 lines lost	
[ΓΓΗ]	[Κ]αμ[ιρῆς]
- -	Χαλ[κῆτορες]

	[ΓΗΗΗ]Η	Κυμ[αῖοι]
	[ΓΗ]	Τή[οι]
45	[Γ]Η	Ἰηλ[ύσιοι]
	[Γ]Η	Φασ[ηλῖται]
	[Η]	Νισ[ύριοι]
	[Χ]ΔΓ	Ἐρυθ[ραῖοι]
	[Γ]ΓΓ	καὶ χ[συντελείς]
50	Η	Μυρι[ναῖοι]
		παρὰ [Κύμην]
	Η	Οἰνα[ῖοι]
		[έ]χς [Ἰκάρου]
	Γ	[Κ]ῶιο[ι]
55	[Η]Γ	[Κ]αλ[ῖδνιοι]
	ΔΓΓ[ΙΙΙ]	[Π]ιτα[ναῖοι]
	- - ΙΙC	[Π]ιτα[ναῖοι]
		[έ]πιφ[ορᾶς]
	[Δ]ΔΔΓΓΓ[ΙΙ]	[Χαλκεᾶται]
60	ΓΙΙΙΙ	[Χαλκεᾶται]
		έ[πιφορᾶς]
	[ΗΓ]	Π[υγελῆς]
	- -	Τε[ρμερῆς]
	- -	Με[λήσιοι]
65	[ΓΗ]ΗΓ	Ἐφ[έσιοι]
	[Γ]Γ[Γ]Γ	Δ[ιοσιρῖται]
	[Η]Γ ΔΓΓΙΙΙ	*Αλικαρ[νασσῆς]
	Η	Λάτμιο[ι]
	Η	Ἰασῆς
70	Η	Μαδνα[σῆς]
		Νησιωτικὸς[φόρος]
	Η	Ξερίφιοι
	ΗΗΗ	Χαλκιδῆ[ς]
	ΗΗΗ	Κεῖοι
75	ΗΗ	Τήνιοι
	[Γ]ΗΓ ΔΓΓΙΙΙ :	Νάχσιοι
	[Η]	Μυκόνιοι
	ΓΗ	*Ανδριοι
	ΗΗΗ	Σίφνιοι
80	ΔΔΓ	Σύριοι

Η	Στυρῆς
[Η]ΗΗ	Ἐρετριῆς
[Δ]Γ†ΙΙΙ	Γρυνχῆς
Γ	Ῥηναίης
85 [Δ]ΔΔ†††ΙΙ	Ἀθηνῶται
[Δ]ΔΔ†††ΙΙ	Διῆς ἀπὸ Κηναί[ου]
Ϟ	Ἰῆται
[ΧΧ]ΗΗΗ (?)	Α[ἰγ]ινῆται
[ΗΗ]Η	Ἡφαιστιῆς

5 lines lost

95	[Ἑλλησπόντιος φόρος]	
	[ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ]	[Σήστιοι]
	[Γ]	[Ἀρπαγίανοι]
	[ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ]	[Σιγειῆς]
	[ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ]	[Κιανοί]
100	ΔΔΔ†††ΙΙ	[Νεανδρεῆς]
	ϞΗ	Κ[αλχηδόνοι]
	Χ	Π[ερὶνθιοι]
	ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ	Δι[δ]υμ[οτειχίται]
	ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ	Δαννιοτ[ειχίται]
105	Η	Δαρδανῆ[ς]
	Γ†ΙΙΙ	Ἀζειῆς

vacat

## Col. II

	[Γ†††ΙΙ]	[Πριαπῆς]
	Γ	[Νεάπολις]
10	ΗΗϞΔΔΔΓ†††	[Τενέδιοι]
	Γ†††[Ι]	[Δασκύλειον]
		[ἐν Προποντίδι]
	ΔΔ†††[Ι]	[Λαμπωνειῆς]
	††	Λ[αμπωνειῆς]
15	ΔΓ†ΙΙΙ	ἐπι[φορᾶς]
	ϞΗ	Παι[σηνοί]
	Ϟ	Ἀβυ[δηνοί]
		Βρυ[λλειανοί]

	ΔΔΓ	[Περκώσιοι καὶ]
20		[Παλαιπερκώσιοι]
	Η	[Χερρονησῖται]
	Ϟ	[Ἐλαιούσιοι]
	ΔΔΔΓΓΓ[II]	[Ἄλωπεκοννήσιοι]
	ΔΔΔΓΓΓ[II]	[Μαδύτιοι]
25	[Δ]ΓΓΓIII	[Λιμναῖοι]
	ΗIII	Λ[ιμναῖοι ἐπιφορᾶς]
	Η	Π[αριανοί]
	ΗΗΗ	Πρ[οκοννήσιοι]
	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII	[Ἀ]ρτακ[ηνοί]
30	ϞΗΗΗΗ	[Κ]υζικ[ηνοί]
	[Χ]ΗϞIC	Λαμφ[σ]ακη[νοί]
	ΧϞΗΗΗΔΔΔ	Βυζάντιοι
	ΔΓ	Σηλυμβρια[νοί]
	Θράικιος φόρο[ς]	
35	ΔΓΓΓIII	Γαλήφσιοι
	[Δ]ΓΓΓIII	Νεοπολίτα[ι]
		παρ' Ἀντισ[άραν]
	[ΗΗΗ]	[Α]ἰνεᾶτα[ι]
	[ΔΔΔΓΓΓII]	[Ὀλοφύ]χσ[ιοί]

5 lines lost

45	ΗΗ	[Ὀλύνθιοι]
	Η	Μ[ηκυπεργαῖοι]
	Ϟ	Νεοπ[ολίται]
		Μενδαίων
	ΔΓΓΓIII	Σκαφσαῖοι
50	Η	Θύσσιοι
	[ϞΓΓ]Γ	Βεργαῖοι
	[ΔΓΓΓII]	Σκιάθιοι
	[ΗΗΗ]	Πεπαρήθιοι
	[ΔΓΓΓIII]	Ἀργίλιοι
55	[Η]	Δικαιοπολίτ[αι]
		Ἐρετριῶν
	[ΓΓΓΓII]	Σερμαῖοι
	[Η]	[Δ]ιῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθω
	[ΔΔΓ]	[Ἴκι]οι

60	[ <sup>Ϟ</sup> H]	[Σαμο]θρῶικες
	[XX]X	Θάσιοι
	[X]	Μαρωνῖται
	[ΔΓΓIIII]	Φηγήτιοι
	[ <sup>Ϟ</sup> ]	Αιγάντιοι
65	[ΔΓΓIIII]	Θραμβαῖοι
	[ΔΓΓIIII]	ἸΑισωνῆ[s]
	[HHH]	Ἀκάνθ[ιοι]
	H	Στρεφσα[ῖοι]
	X <sup>Ϟ</sup>	ἸΑβδηρίτ[αι]
70	X <sup>Ϟ</sup>	Ποτειδεᾶτ[αι]
	ΔΔΓ	Σκαβλαῖοι
	<sup>Ϟ</sup>	ἸΑσσηρίται
	HHHΓΓΓIIII	Σπαρτώλιοι
	H	Σαναῖοι
75	H	Σίγγιοι
		πόλεις αὐταὶ
		ταχσάμεναι
	<sup>Ϟ</sup>	Γαλαῖοι
	ΔΔΓ	Σαρταῖοι
80	H	ἸΑμόργιοι
	ΔΓΓIIII	ἸΕτεοκαρπάθ[ιοι]
		ἐκ Καρπάθου
	ΔΓΓIIII	Κάσιοι
	ΓΓΓIIII	Αἰολῖται
85	<sup>Ϟ</sup>	Μιλκώριοι
	ΓΓΓIIII	Φαρβήλιοι
	[Δ]ΓΓIIII	Καλλιπολίτα[ι]
	[ΔΓΓIIII]	Χεδρώλιοι
		πόλεις ἰὰς
90		ἰοὶ ἰδιῶται
		ἐνέγραφσαν
		φόρον φέρειν
	[Γ]ΓΓIIII	Κλ[ε]ωναί
	ΔΓΓIIII	Δ[ια]κρήs
95		[ἀπὸ] Χαλκι[δέων]
	ΔΔΔ	[Σύμη]
	ΓΓΓIIII	[Πίστασος]

ΔΔΓ

[Σίνος]

ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ

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100

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About 6 lines lost.

The five names lost in col. i, ll. 90-4 are probably Ἰμβριοι, Κύθνιοι, Καρύσσιοι, Πάριοι, Μυρναῖοι. To fill col. ii, ll. 40-4 we must take five names from the following eight : Ἀφυσταῖοι, Μενδαῖοι, Σταγυρίται, Τορωναῖοι, Σκιωναῖοι, Δίκαια παρὰ Ἀβδηρα, Σερμυλιῆς, Στόλιοι.

For the tribute quota-lists see the commentary on No. 30. The present example, recording the quotas paid in the spring of 432, is the best preserved list from the assessment period 434-430, during which the Peloponnesian War broke out. For the two special categories of cities in col. ii, ll. 76 ff., see p. 54.

In ll. 3-4 Kirchhoff proposed the restoration Φιλη[μονίδης Εὐρ]έκτου and Dittenberger Φιλέ[ταιρος Θεοδ]έκτου. But whereas the demotic of the man here named comprised ten letters, the Φιλέταιρος who served in 432-1 as Hellenotamias was an Ἰκαριεύς (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 213. 6, 296. 33) and the Εὐρέκτης who was treasurer of Athena in the same year was an Ἀτηνεύς (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 258. 13).

## 57

**Alliance between Athens and Leontini: 433-2 B.C.**

Marble stele, found at Athens, between the Odeum and the Theatre of Dionysus; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic alphabet: ll. 1-15 are engraved in a more developed, and presumably later, hand than ll. 16 ff. Στοιχηδόν (ll. 1-15 only). At the end of l. 15 are two blank spaces.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 52 + Hill, *Sources*, iii. 326a (p. 434); Heikel, 2; cf. *C.A.H.* v. 162.

[Θ]εοί: Πρέσβεις ἐν Λεον[τ]ίνων, οἰ τῇ χυμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο  
5 καὶ τὸν Ἱόρκον, Τιμήνωρ Ἀγαθοκλέους, Σώσις Γλανκίου, Γέλων  
Ἐχσηκέστου γραμματεὺς, Θεότιμος Ταυρίσκου· ἐπ' Ἀφσεύδους  
10 ἀρχοντος καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥι Κρ[ι]τιάδης ἐγραμμάτενε· | ἔδοχσεν  
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ | τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Χαρίας ἐγρ[α]-  
15 μάτενε, Τιμόχσενος | ἐπεστάτει, Καλλίας εἶπε· τὴμ μὲν χυμμαχίαν  
εἶναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ | Λεοντίνοις καὶ τὸν ὅ[ρ]κον δοῦναι καὶ δέχσα-  
20 σ[θ]αι· ὁμόσ[θ]αι δὲ Ἀθηναί[οις] τὰδε· χυμ[α]χ[ο]ὶ ἐσόμεθα - 7 - |  
- 5 - |

Two to five letters survive in each of the ll. 23-32, but these are here omitted as they admit of no certain restoration. I venture, however, to suggest in ll. 22, 23  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\iota\varsigma$  [s]  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\delta\acute{o}\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\kappa\iota$   $\alpha\iota$  [ $\delta\beta\lambda\alpha$ ]  $\beta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  | (cf. Thuc. v. 47. 8).

The similarity between the preambles of this decree and the following suggests that both were passed at the same meeting of the Assembly, and if the name  $\text{Τιμόξενος}$  is rightly restored in No. 58, l. 8, that probability becomes a certainty. In both the preamble is engraved on a space whence a previous text has been erased, while the substantive portion of the decree is in a different, and markedly earlier, hand. Hence we may infer (1) that the alliances with Leontini and Rhegium were concluded, probably simultaneously, at a date falling (to judge from the writing) between 446 and 440; (2) that in 433-2 they were renewed, at the instance of the Leontines and Rhegines, shortly after, and perhaps partly in consequence of, the Athenian alliance with and intervention in Corcyra (see No. 55); (3) that, as the terms of the alliances remained unaltered, economy was consulted by the substitution of the new for the old preamble on each stele and the retention of the remainder of the text.

Callias, the mover of both these decrees, and probably also of No. 51, would seem to be the son of Calliades (*P.A.* 7827, *R.E.* x. 1622 f.): in the summer of 432 he led an expedition to Potidaea and fell in battle there (Thuc. i. 61-3, Diod. xii. 37: cf. No. 59).

Thucydides (iii. 86) tells how, in the autumn of 427, the Athenians sent a fleet to Sicily under Laches and Charoeades, as war had broken out between Syracuse and Leontini, and the allies of the latter, including Rhegium, sent an embassy (one of whose members was Gorgias of Leontini) to Athens to ask for  $\alpha\iota\delta$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\upsilon$   $\xi\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\delta\tau\iota$   $\text{Ἰωνες}$   $\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon$ . On that occasion Rhegium served as the Athenian base of operations, but in 415 it maintained an attitude of somewhat unfriendly neutrality towards the great Athenian armada (Thuc. vi. 44. 3, 46. 2).



## 58

**Alliance between Athens and Rhegium : 433-2 B.C.**

Marble stele, now in the British Museum.

Attic alphabet : ll. 1-8 are engraved in a more developed, and presumably later, hand than ll. 9 ff. *Στοιχηδόν*. At the end of l. 8 are ten blank spaces.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 51 + Hill, *Sources*, iii. 326b (p. 434) ; Janell, 44. Cf. *C.A.H.* v. 162 ; *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* 14, No. 8.

[Θεοί. Πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥηγίου, ὅ]οι τὴν χυμμαχίαν | [ἐποίησαντο καὶ  
τὸν ὄρκ]ον, Κλέανδρος Χσεν| - 19 - τίνου, Σιληνὸς Φώκου, | [- 14 -,  
5 ἐπὶ Ἀφ]σεύδους ἄρχοντος κ|[αὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥ]ι Κριτιάδης πρῶτος  
ἐγραμμ|[άτευε υ]ν ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, Ἀ|[καμαντὶς  
ἐπρυτάνευε, Χ]αρίας ἐγραμμάτευ|[ε, Τιμόχσενος ἐπιστάτ]ει, Καλλί|[as  
10 εἶπε χ]υμμαχίαν εἶν[αι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ || [Ῥηγίνοις τὸν δὲ ὄρκον]  
ὁμοσάντων Ἀθηνα|[ῖοι κατὰ τάδε· ἔ]σται πιστὰ καὶ ἄδολα καὶ  
ἴ|[απλὰ ἅ]παντα τὰ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ῥηγίνοις κα|[ὶ χ]υμμαχοῖς, καὶ  
χσύν[μαχοι ἐ]σόμεθα πισ|[τοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσ]χυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς ||  
15 [καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ οὐκ] ὠφελήσομεν [τοὺς ἐ]χθροὺς τοὺς Ῥηγίνων - - -

Cf. No. 57 and commentary.

## 59

**Athenians killed at Potidaea : 432 B.C.**

Stele of white marble, now in the British Museum. Two sketches by Fauvel show some letters which are now lost (underlined in the text given below) and part of a relief depicting a battle scene.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*. There is some uncertainty in the use of the aspirate. Phot. in *Pal. Soc. Facs.* Pl. 79.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 945 + Wilamowitz, *Griech. Lesebuch*, i. 144. 3, ii. 102 ; Janell, 221 ; Hiller, *H. gr. Ep.* 53 ; *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* 14, No. 9. Cf. J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 396.

Ἔμ Ποτ[ειδαῖαι ὅ]ιδε ἀπέθανον].

Ἀθανάτομ με θα[νούσι πολῖται σῆμ' ἀνέθηκαν]

σημαίνειν ἀρετ[ὴν τῶνδε καὶ ἐσσομένοις]

καὶ προγόνω' σθέν(ο)ς [ἐσθλόν, ὅ]ι ἡγορέης ἀρετῆς τε]

5 νίκην εὐπόλεμον μνήμ' ἔλαβον [σ]φ[ετέρως].

Αἰθῆρ μεμ φυχὰς ὑπέδεχσατο, σώμ[ατα δὲ χ]θῶν]

τῶνδε, Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλύθεν]

ἐχθρῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, ὅ[ι] δὲ φυγόντες]

τείχος πιστοτάτην ἑλπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίου].

10 Ἄνδρας μεμ πόλις ἦδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθῶς],  
πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας ὅ]ι θάνον ἐμ προμάχοις]

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων φσυχὰς δ' ἀντίρροπα θέντες]  
 ῥ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατρ[ίδ'] εὐκλ[είσαν].

We have here the tombstone, originally erected in the Ceramicus, of the Athenians (l. 12) who fell at Potidaea in the summer or autumn of 432 B.C. (for the chronological problem cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 799 ff., Beloch, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 219 ff., A. B. West, *Cl. Phil.* x. 34 ff., W. Kolbe, *Thukydides*, 15 ff.).

Above the epitaph was a relief, now lost, representing the battle; below it were probably engraved the names of Callias and the 150 Athenians commemorated (Thuc. i. 63. 3).

For the heading cf. Nos. 26, 43.

The metrical epitaph, inscribed as one continuous poem of twelve lines, is clearly composed of three four-lined epigrams, perhaps the three prize-winners in a competition. The first is too seriously mutilated to be capable of certain restoration. That taken above from Hiller von Gaertringen is open to criticism, but will serve to suggest the probable line of thought. In l. 4 Fauvel gives σθενες and in l. 5 ελαβοι . φ. This last letter, of which a small portion remains, may be θ rather than φ and may point to [φ]θ[ίμενοι], as suggested by Mr. J. U. Powell, who has put forward the following conjectural restoration (*Cl. Rev.* xxi. 61 f.):

Ἀθἀνατόμ με θα[νούσιν] Ἀθηναίους, ἐθέλουσα]  
 σημαίνειν ἀρετ[ήν, μνήμ' ἐπέθηκε πόλιν].  
 καὶ προγόνους θέ(μ)ς [ἐστὶν ἐπαινεῖν, 'οὶ κομίσαντες]  
 νίκην εὐπόλεμον μνήμ' ἔλαβον [φ]θ[ίμενοι].

The second and third epigrams are better preserved, and most of the restorations are hardly open to doubt. With l. 6 cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 1140, αἰθὴρ ἔχει νιν ἥδη, and *I.G.* ii. 3720,

Εὐρυμάχον ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφιάλους διανοίας  
 αἰθὴρ ὕγρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύνβος ὄδε.

For ll. 8, 9 see Thuc. i. 63, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρου ἐς τὸ τεῖχος (cf. the closing phrase of i. 62) . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν. For the aspirate in ἐλπιδ' see *G.A.I.* 86. With παῖδες Ἀθηναίων (l. 12) cf. Nos. 12, 43, with πατρίδ' εὐκλείσαν (l. 13) cf. No. 43, l. 95.

## PART IV

### THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

#### 60

#### Resettlement of Potidaea : 429 B.C.

Marble statue-base found near the Propylaea; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic alphabet. Στοιχῆδόν.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 397 +

Ἐποίκων | ἐς Ποτεΐδαιαν.

In the winter of 430-29 Potidaea capitulated after a siege of about two and a half years and its inhabitants evacuated the town: thereafter the Athenians ἐποίκοις ἔπεμψαν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτεΐδαιαν καὶ κατέκτισαν (Thuc. ii. 70. 4). Before their departure these dedicated an offering on the Acropolis. For ἐποίκοι cf. No. 44, ll. 26, 28.

#### 61

#### Athenian Relations with Methone and Macedonia :

#### 429 B.C. and later.

A marble stele, broken below, found in the Theatre of Dionysus. Above the inscription is a relief of Athena(?), seated, holding out her hand to a standing figure, probably the patron deity of Methone, behind whom stands a hound (cf. the relief on No. 96). Now in the National Museum.

Attic writing (but in l. 51 Γ = γ, in ll. 21, 41, 52 Η = η, and the aspirate is frequently omitted). Στοιχῆδόν (except ll. 1, 2). Phot. in Kern, *I.G.* 15.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 57 + Hill, *Sources*, i. 114, 138a (p. 425), iii. 310. Cf. Köhler, *Abh. Berl.* 1869, ii. 138; Wilhelm, *G.G.A.* 1903, 775; A. B. West, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 440 ff. (*S.E.G.* iii. 10).

Μεθωναίων ἐκ Πιερί[ας]. |

[Φ]αίρινπος Φρυνίχον ἐγραμμάτ[ευε]. |

[Ἐδ]οχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπ[ρ]οτάν[ευε], Σκόπας ἐγραμμάτευε, Τιμωνίδης ἐπεστάται, Δ[ιοπ]ρί[θ]ης εἶπε· δι[α]χειροτονεῖσαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτίκ[α πρὸς Μ]εθωνάους εἴτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάττειν

τὸν δῆμον αὐτ[ικ]α μάλα ἢ ἐχ[σ]αρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὅσον τῇ θεῶι  
 ἀπ[ὸ] τ[οῦ] φόρου ἐγίγνετο, ὃν τοῖς προτέροις Παν[αθη]ναίοις ἐτετά-  
 10 χατο φέρειν, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ἀτελεῖς εἶναί· τῶν δὲ ὀφ[ει]λημάτων,  
 ἃ γεγράφαι τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ τῶν Ἀθη[να]ίων Μεθωναῖοι  
 ὀφείλοντες, ἐὰν ᾧσι ἐπι[τ]ήδειοι Ἀ[θη]ναίοις ὥσπερ τε νῦν καὶ ἔτι  
 ἀμείνους, ἐπ[ι]τρέπειν τ[ε] τ[α]χισυν περὶ τῆς πράξεως Ἀθηναίους, καὶ  
 ἐὰν [κοινὸν] φσηφισμά τι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇσι  
 15 στή[λ]ησι γίγνηται, μηδὲν προσῆκέτω Μεθωναίοις, ἐὰμ μὴ χωρὶς  
 γίγνηται φσηφισμα περὶ Μεθωναίων· πρέσβεις δὲ τρεῖς πέμψαι  
 ὑπὲρ πεπτηκότα ἔτη γεγυ[ό]τας [ῶ]ς Περδίκκ[α]ν, εἰπεῖν δὲ Περδίκ-  
 και, ὅτι δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι ἐὰν Μεθωναίους τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι,  
 20 μηδὲ ἔχσ[ε]ναι ὀρίσασθαι, καὶ ἐὰν εἰσεμπορεύεσθ[αι] καθ[ά]περ τέως  
 ἔ[σ]την χώραν, καὶ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μ[ή]τε [ἀ]δ[ικ]εῖσθαι, μηδὲ στρα[τ]ὶὰν  
 διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεθ[ω]ναίων [διά]γειν ἀκόντωμ [Με]θωναίων, καὶ  
 ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν [ἐκ]άτερ[οι], χσυν[μ]β[ι]βασάντων ὅι πρέσβεις,  
 25 ἐὰν δὲ μή, [πρεσ]β[ε]ῖαν ἐκάτ[ερ]οι[ς] πεμπόντων ἐς Διονύσια, τέλος  
 [ἔχου]τας περὶ ὧν ἂν διαφέρωνται, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ-  
 μον· εἰ[π]εῖν δὲ [Π]ερδίκκαι, ὅτι, ἐὰν ὅι στρατ[ι]ῶται ὅι ἐμ Ποτει-  
 δ[ά]ι ἐπαινώσι, γνώμας ἀγαθὰς ἔχ[σου]σι περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀθη[ν]αῖοι.  
 30 Ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος [Μεθων]αίωνς τελεῖν ὅσον τῇ θεῶι ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ φόρου ἐγίγνετο, ὃν τοῖς προτέροις Παναθηναίοις ἐτετάχατο  
 φέρειν, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ἀτελεῖς εἶναι. ν

Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἱπποθω[ν]τις ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 Μεγακλείδης [ἐγγραμμά]τεν[ε], Νί[κ]ο[ρ]. . . . ἐπεστάται, Κλεώνυμος  
 35 εἶπε· Μ[εθωνα]ίοις εἶν[αι] ἐχ[σα]γ[ω]γὴν ἐγ Βυζαντίου σίτου μέχρι  
 . . . α[κισχ]υλίων μεδίμνων τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου, ὅι [δὲ] Ἑλλησ-  
 π[ον]τοφύλακες μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύοντων ἐχσάγειν μ[ή]τ[ε] ἄλλου  
 ἑόντων κωλύειν, ἢ εὐθυνέσθων μυρίασι δρ[αχ]μαῖσιν ἕκαστος· γραφ-  
 40 σαμένους δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλησπ[ον]τοφύλακας ἐχσάγειν μέχρι τοῦ  
 τεταγμένου· ἀξίμιος [δὲ] ἔστω καὶ ἡ ναὺς ἡ ἐχσάγουσα. Ὅ, τι δ' ἂν  
 κοινὸν φσηφ[ι]σ[α] περὶ τῶν χσυνμάχων φσηφίζονται Ἀθηναῖοι  
 περὶ β[ο]η[θεί]ας ἢ ἄλλο τι προ[σ]τάττω[ν]τες τῇσι πόλεσι ἢ [περὶ]  
 45 σ[φ]ῶν [ἢ] περὶ τῶν πόλεων, ὅ, τι ἂν ὀνομαστὶ περὶ τῆς π[ό]λεως  
 τῇ[ς] Μεθωναίων φσηφίζονται, τοῦτο προσήκειν αὐτοῖς, τ[ὰ] δὲ  
 ἄλλα μὴ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττοντες τὴν σφετ[έ]ραν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμέ-  
 νῳ ὄντων. Ἀ δὲ ὑπὸ Περδ[ί]κκου ἡδικῆσθαι φασί, βουλευσασθαι  
 Ἀθηναίους ὅ, τι ἂν δοκ[ῇ] ἀγαθὸν εἶναι περὶ Μεθωναίων, ἐπειδὴν  
 50 ἀπαν[τ]ήσ[ω]σι [ἔ]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅι πρέσβεις ὅι παρὰ Περδίκκου, [οἱ]

τ]ε μετ[ὰ Πλ]ειστίου οἱ[χ]όμενοι καὶ ὅι μετὰ Λεωγόδρον. Τῇ[σ]ι δὲ  
[ἄλλ]ησι πόλε[σι χ]ρηματίζουσαι, ἐπειδὴν ἐσέλ[θ]ηι ἡ | π]ρο[υ]ταν[ε]ία ἡ  
δευτ[έρα] μετὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ [ἔ]δρας | ἐ[β]θ[ύ]ς ἐκκλησίαν [πο]ή-  
55 σαντες· συν[ε]χῶς δὲ ποιεῖν τ[ὰς ἐκ] [ε] [ἔ]δρας, ὥς ἂν δι[α]πρ[α]χθῇ,  
ἄλλο δὲ προχρηματίζουσαι | το[ύ]τ[ω]ν μηδὲν, ἐὰν μὴ τι οἱ στρατη[γ]οὶ  
δέοντα[ι]. ν

[Ἐδοχ]σεν τῇι βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
· | . . . . . ]ης ἐγραμμάτε[υ]ς, [Ι]εροκλείδης ἐπισταίται, . . | . . . . . ]  
60 εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ ἐ - 24 - || - 8 - Ἀθηναίων - - - -

In l. 49 I substitute [ἀγαθ]όν for my predecessors' [ἀχσι]όν.

Under a single title (l. 1) are grouped a series of Athenian decrees relative to Methone, on the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf, engraved when Phaenippus was secretary (l. 2), i.e. in 424-3 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 118. 11).

I. The first decree (ll. 3-29) is usually dated in July or August, 428 B.C., but A. B. West has shown good reasons for dating the reassessment of tribute (ll. 8, 9, 31) in 430 and this decree in 429 B.C. It provides that

(a) the δῆμος shall decide whether to reassess the Methonean tribute or to be content with the payment of the ἀπαρχή (cf. No. 30) on the assessment made at the previous Panathenaea (ll. 5-9). An added note (ll. 29-32) records that the people accepted the latter alternative, and Methone appears shortly afterwards in a quota-list (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 216, i. 52) as paying 300 drachmas under the heading αἰδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῇ[ν] τὴν ἀπαρ]χὴν ἀπῆγαγον.

(b) If Methone remains loyal, it shall receive special and favourable treatment regarding its arrears of tribute (ll. 9-16: the στήλαι are the public records of state-debtors). That Methone did render further service to Athens we learn from Thuc. iv. 129. 4, vi. 7. 3. When it fell away we cannot say, but Timotheus recovered it in 364 B.C. (Din. i. 14) and in 353 Philip of Macedon besieged and destroyed it (Diod. xvi. 34).

(c) Three Athenian envoys over fifty years old shall request Perdiccas not to restrict the trade of Methone by land or by sea, nor to lead troops through her territory without her consent (ll. 16-23).

(d) If no agreement can be effected, Perdiccas and Methone shall send plenipotentiary envoys to Athens at the next Dionysia (ll. 23-7): meanwhile, Perdiccas shall be told that the Athenians will welcome favourable reports about him from their troops at Potidaea (ll. 27-9). (In ll. 25-6 Leonardos suggests [ἐχσου|σαν] in place of [ἐχου|τας].)

II. The second decree (ll. 32-56) was passed in the first prytany (cf. ll. 52-3) of 426-5 (for Megacledes was secretary in Euthynus' archonship, No. 64, l. 5), i.e. in July or August, 426 B.C. Its proposer, Cleonymus, was prominent in Athenian public life for the next twelve years and was the butt of many a gibe in Aristophanes' comedies (*R.E.* xi. 729 f., Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 1118). Its main provisions are the following:

(a) Methone may import annually from Byzantium, i.e. from the Pontic corn-lands, a limited quantity of wheat, upon giving notice to the Ἑλλησποντοφύλακες (ll. 34-41).

(b) The Methoneans are exempted from the operation of general Athenian decrees relative to the Empire, and subject only to those which refer to them by name (ll. 41-7). The phrase ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντων means 'they shall be regarded as fulfilling their obligations' (cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2. 37, *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 116. 48).

(c) The Methonean complaints against Perdiccas are to be investigated on the return of the envoys now negotiating with the king (ll. 47-51).

(d) The requests made by other cities of the Empire are to be discussed by the assembly in the second prytany, immediately after the sessions of the Council held in the dockyard, and are to have preference over all other business except urgent matters brought forward by the generals (ll. 51-6).

III. Of the third decree only the prescript survives (ll. 56-60). Though we know (No. 64, l. 6) that in 426-5 the tribe Cecropis held the second prytany, there is no cogent reason for assigning the decree to that year rather than to 425-4.

A fourth decree probably followed, passed in 424-3 B.C., by which the secretary Phaenippus was instructed to have all four documents engraved.

## 62

## Donations for the Archidamian War: about 427 B.C.

A mutilated stele of grey marble above the door of the church of St. Basil, some two and a half hours south of Sparta.

Spartan alphabet: facs. of ll. 1-10 in *I.G.* v (1). 1.

*I.G.* v (1). 1+ Further references in *B.S.A.* xxvi. 108.

*Front.*

[--- τοῖς Λα]κεδαιμονίοις. .] λ[ο]. . | --- ακα]τίως δαριχώς. Ἐχ[ε]μ[α]  
 λ[ο]χ[ο]ς | ἔδωκε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποτὸν [πό]λεμον ἀργυρίῳ ἐνν[έα]  
 5 μνᾶς καὶ δέκα στατήρας. || [Ἐδωκε τοῖς Λα]κεδαιμονίοις Λυ(κ)εῖδα υἱὸς |  
 --- σ' Ὀλε[ν]ιος [--- τοῖς Λα]κεδαιμονίοις ποττὸν πόλεμον τριήρε[σι](ν)  
 μ[ισ]θὸν ἀργυρίῳ μνᾶς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. [Ἐδον τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
 10 μονίοις τῶν Χίων τοῖ φίλοι ποττὸν || [πό]λεμον . . . . .] στατήρας  
 Αἰγιναιῶς. [Ἐδον τοῖ . . . . . τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποττὸν [πό]λε-  
 μον μεδίμνως] τ(ε)τρακιν(η)λίως καὶ ἄλλως | [μεδίμνως τετρ]ακινχη-  
 15 λίως καὶ ἀσταφίδος | [--- τάλ]αντα vacat. || --- υἱὸς (ξ)δ[ω]κε  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις [---] πολλὰ καὶ (δ)αρικῶς ὀκτακατ(ί)ως | ---  
 καὶ ἀργυρίῳ τρ(ί)α τάλαντα. | --- ξδ[ο]ν ποττὸν πόλεμον || [ἀργυρίῳ  
 20 τάλ]αντον, τριάκοντα μνᾶς [καὶ || --- τ]ρισχηλίως μεδίμνως καὶ  
 [ἄλλως] μεδίμνως --- κ[ον]τα καὶ ἀργυρίῳ φεξή[κον]τα μνᾶς. Ἐδον  
 τοῖς Ἐφέσιοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποττὸν πόλεμον χηλίως δαρ[ικῶς]. |

*Side.*

25, 30 Ἐδον τοῖς Μά[λ]ιοι τοῖς | Λακεδαιμονίοις | ἀργυρίῳ | τ(ί)κατι || μνᾶς.  
 35 Ἐδωκε Μολο(β)ρὸς τοῖς | Λακεδαιμονίοις τάλαν[τα] || α] | ἀργυρίῳ. |  
 40 Ἐδον τοῖς Μάλιοι | τοῖς | [Λ]ακεδαι[[μ]ονίοις | . . . ]λ - -

The importance of the financial factor in war was emphasized by Pericles (Thuc. i. 141-3) and admitted by Archidamus (i. 80) and the Corinthians (i. 121-2) on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, but the proposal to meet the Spartan lack of a reserve fund and a regular revenue by raising loans at Delphi and Olympia (i. 121. 3, 143. 1) was never, so far as we know, carried into effect. The Spartans did, however, as the present inscription proves, open a war-fund, to which contributions might be made either in cash or in kind.

Among the donors of money, grain or raisins (l. 13) were: (a) the λόχος (for the Spartan λόχοι see Thuc. v. 68. 3) of Echemmas, a name also found in Crete (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 121), Locris (*S.I.G.* 416. 5) and elsewhere (*Fouilles*, iii. 1. 478. 27, *B.C.H.* lii. 206); (b) a citizen of Olenus in Achaea (the restoration adopted in l. 6 is more probable than the suggested alternative Ὀλλε[ρι]ος); (c) the friends (of Sparta) among the Chians (this, and not 'the friends of the Chians', seems to be the meaning of the phrase in l. 9), whose activities perhaps prompted the Athenian nervousness about the loyalty of Chios in the winter of 425-4 (Thuc. iv. 51); (d) the Ephesians, who made the largest recorded contribution and may have paid it to the Spartan admiral Alcidas when he visited their port in 427 (Thuc. iii. 32); (e) the Melians, who gave two separate donations; they were regarded as neutral at the outbreak of the war (Thuc. ii. 9), but though they figure in the Attic assessment-list of 425-4 (No. 66, l. 65), their loyalty to Sparta led to their destruction in 416 (Thuc. v. 116); the survivors were restored by Lysander shortly after the battle of Aegospotami (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 9); (f) an individual, who may be Μολο(β)ρός the father of Epitadas, the Spartan commandant on Sphacteria in 425 (Thuc. iv. 8. 9), or, according to a conjecture of von Wilamowitz, Μό[λων] Λοκρός; it seems better to suppose that the number of talents given by him was accidentally omitted than to read τάλαντ(ον) in l. 34-5.

The document cannot be precisely dated, but almost certainly relates to the Archidamian war. The Chian and Ephesian contributions indicate a time when Sparta was seeking to detach the Ionian cities from Athens, while the reference to triremes (l. 7, where Fourmont's copy has ΤΡΙΕΡΕΓ . ΧΜ . .) suggests a date earlier than the loss of the Spartan fleet at Pylos in 425 (Thuc. iv. 23. 1). U. Kahrstedt, it is true, assigns the list to 424-416 (*Griech. Staatsrecht*, i. 32, 336) and E. Meyer to the Deceleian War (*Theopomps Hellenika*, 266), but Professor F. E. Adcock will, in a forthcoming article, give strong reasons for associating some at least of the gifts here recorded with Alcidas' expedition to Lesbos in 427 B.C.



## 63

## Athenian Cleruchs in Lesbos: 427-6 B.C.

Seven fragments of a stele of dark marble, found in, or on the slopes of, the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum, except *f*, which is in the Louvre.

Developed Attic writing (but in l. 1  $\Lambda\text{H} = \lambda\eta$ ), στοιχηδόν. Phot. in *A. J. Arch.* xxx. 177.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 60 + Hill, *Sources*, i. 165; Roberts-Gardner, 16; P. H. Davis *A. J. Arch.* xxx. 177 ff. Cf. Hitzig, *Allgr. Staatsv.* No. 4.

Μυτιλη[ναίων].

[ - - - ἐγραμμάτ]ευε.

- 5 [Θεο]ί. [[\*Εδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι, Ἄκαμα]ντὶς ἐπρ[[υτά-  
νευε, - - ἐγραμμάτευε, - -]θος ἐπε[[στάτει, - - εἶπε\* - -] χεῖ|  
- 35 - ιτο[- 31 - ἐ]άν δόχσ[[ηι, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ καὶ] τ[ο]ῖς [Μυτι-  
10 λην]αίοις 'ότ[[ι - 14 - 'ο δ]ῆμος 'ο Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀπο| - 18 - ν καὶ  
αὐτο[ν]ο[μ]ο[υ]ς δοκ[εῖ] εἶ[ναι] αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας πάντα τὰ σφ[έτερα] αὐτῶν  
.... | - 7 - ]ντας - 9 - ε (or η) - 17 - | . . . . . αι Ἀθην[α]ῖοι κε-  
15 λεύουσ[ι - 14 - || . . δι]κας διδόν[τας] πρὸς Ἀθην[α]ῖους καὶ δεχο-  
μένους κα[τὰ] τὰς χσ[μ]β[ο]λάς, 'αι ἦσαν [πρὸς Μυτιληναίους\* κ]αὶ  
τοῖς κλη[ροῦ]χοις 'όσα ἐπω[λήθη] ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρό[τε]ρον πρὶν ἀ[πο]δο-  
θῆναι αὐτοῖς [τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν | στ]ρατηγῶν [καὶ] τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
20 [ἀποδοῦναι Μυτιλ[η]ναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας. Καὶ ἀναγράφ[σαι] ταῦτα  
τὸν γ[ρα]μματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήληι λιθ[ίν]ῃ καὶ καταθ[εῖναι] ἐμ  
πόλει τέλεσι τοῖς [[ς]] [Μυτιληναίων. νν. Ταῦ]τα μὲν ἀναγράφ[σαι]  
καὶ κ[αλέσαι] τὴν πρεσβείαν τ[ῶν] Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ χ[σ]ένια ἐς τὸ  
25 πρυτανεῖον ἐς[[ ] αὔριον' τοῖς δὲ κλ[ηροῦ]χοις - 17 - ]γῆς ἀνταποδο  
- 27 - | . . ν. ν. \*Εδοχσεν - - -

The two extant portions of the decree or decrees (cf. l. 27) are not contiguous; P. H. Davis has, however, proved the contiguity of fragments *a*, *b*, *d*, *e* (ll. 7-27) and his text has, in the main, been followed here. I have ventured, with some hesitancy, to restore [ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ καὶ] in l. 9, 'ότ[[ι in ll. 9-10 and δοκ[εῖ] εἶ[ναι] αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας πάντα τὰ] in ll. 11-12. These and certain other restorations given above are only tentative. On the topmost fragment (*f*) is a relief of Athena, and l. 1 of the inscription (*Att. Mitt.* xxxv. 12 and Plate).

The revolt of Lesbos (with the exception of Methymna, which remained loyal to Athens) broke out in 428 and was crushed in the following year. Its instigators were put to

death on the motion of Cleon and subsequently the Athenians φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους τριακοσίου μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροῦς ἐξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστων τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν (Thuc. iii. 50, cf. Diod. xii. 55. 10). The view of Foucart, Köhler, and Holm, that the cleruchs remained in Attica and there enjoyed the rents of their holdings, is not only antecedently improbable but is contradicted by Thucydides' use of the aorist ἀπέπεμψαν. They would prove a more effective check upon any fresh outbreak in Lesbos if, instead of being scattered over the island on their several farms, they were massed at Mytilene and perhaps also in the other cities (cf. H. Swoboda, *Serta Harteliana*, 28 ff., Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 1032 f.). We hear nothing of them later.

With this incident in Athenian history the decree before us is almost certainly connected, but it is too mutilated to admit of certain conclusions regarding its terms. Difficulties were naturally caused by the presence of the κληροῦχοι on the island, and Mytilene sent an embassy (l. 23) to ask for their adjustment. The words αὐτο[νό]μους and [τὰ] σφ[έ]τερα αὐτῶ[ν] (ll. 11-12), the reaffirmation of the *ξυμβολαί* which had existed between Athens and Mytilene before the revolt (ll. 15, 16), and the hospitality shown to the envoys (ll. 23-5) suggest that the Athenian reply was conciliatory and even generous (cf. the treatment of the Chalcidians, No. 42). On the other hand, the claims of the cleruchs are safeguarded (ll. 17 ff., 25 ff.) and the Athenians assert unequivocally their right to command (l. 14). We may perhaps restore in ll. 12, 13 αὐτῶ[ν] δύο μνᾶς φέροντας [κατὰ τὸν κλ[ῆ]ρον ἑκάστων], on the basis of the last phrase of Thucydides quoted above.

For the phrase τέλεσι τοῖς [Μυτιληναίων] (l. 22) cf. No. 32, l. 26, and examples there cited.

## 64

## Loans to the Athenian State from the Sacred Treasuries:

426-5 to 423-2 B.C.

Seventeen fragments, of which fifteen (*a-p*) are inscribed and two un-inscribed, of a white marble stele, found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum with the exception of *h*, which is lost.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν* (with irregularities, see Meritt's work cited below, p. 23f.). The aspirate sign is always omitted in the words *ἡμέρα* (eight times in ll. 4-22), *ἕκαστος* (ll. 56, 78) and *ἔνδεκα* (nine times in ll. 112-23) and probably also in *ἅπασι* (l. 121). Phot. of *d*, *i-p* in Meritt, 6 ff., facs. of all fragments *ibid.* Pl. I.

I.G. i.<sup>2</sup> 324+ 306. B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1928). Cf. J. K. Fotheringham, *Cl. Rev.* xliii. 20f.; H. T. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.* xxiv. 33 ff., *Cl. Rev.* xlv. 163 ff., *J.H.S.* li. 68 ff.; P. Haggard, *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxii; A. B. West, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 220 ff.

[Τάδε ἐλογίσαν]το οἱ λογισταὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτ[ταρ]σι ἐτεσι ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς [ Παναθήναια ὀφειλ]όμενα. Τάδε οἱ ταμίαι παρέ-  
δοσαν Ἀνδροκλῆς Φλυεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες Ἑλλη[ν]οταμίαις . . .  
.....]ει καὶ χσυνάρχουσιν στρα[τη]γοῖς Ἱπποκράτει Χολα-  
ργεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς | Κεκροπίδος| πρυτανείας δευτέρας  
5 πρυ[ταν]ευούσης, τέτταρες ἡμέραι ἦσαν ἐσελ[η]λυθυῖαι, ἐπὶ τῇ|ς  
βουλῆς, ἥ|ι Μεγακλείδης πρῶτο[ς] ἐγραμ[μ]μάτευε, ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος  
ΑΑ· τόκος τ[ού]τοις ἐγένετο | ΒΒΒΒΔΔ|ΔΔΓΓ: ὡς Δευτέρα  
δόσις ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς Κ|κεκροπίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης, λοι[π]αὶ ἦσαν  
ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι| τῇ πρυτανείᾳ ΒΒ· τόκος τ[ού]των ὡς ΤΤΧΒΒΒΒΒΒΒ  
ΔΔ ὡς Τρίτῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Παν[δ]ιονίδος πρυτ[αν]είας| τετάρτης πρυ-  
[τ]ανευούσης [ἐσελ[η]λυθυῖας πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς πρυτανείας ΑΑΒΒ  
ΤΤΤΒΒΒΒΒΔΔΙΙΙΙ: ὡς τ[ό]κος τ[ού]των ὡς ΤΧΒΒΒΒΒΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ ὡς  
Τ[ετάρτ]ῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πρυτανείας| ὀγδόης πρυτα-  
10 ν[ευ]ούσης πέντε ἡμέρας ἐσελ[η]λυθυῖας τῆς πρυτανείας ΑΑΑΑΤΤ  
ΤΤΤΧΧΧ· τόκος τούτ[ω]ν ὡς ΤΧΧΧΧΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒ | Πέμπτῃ δόσις  
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαν[τί]δος πρυτανείας ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης ἐσελ[η]λυ-  
θυῖας δέκα ἡμέρας τ[ῆς] πρυτανείας ΒΒ· τόκος τ[ού]των ὡς ΤΤΤ  
ΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΒΔΔΔΔ ὡς Ἑκτῇ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρε[χ]θίδος πρυτ[αν]είας|  
δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης [ἐσελ[η]λυθυῖας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τῆς πρυτανείας  
ΑΒΤΤΤΧΧΧ· τόκος τού[τοις] ἐγένετο ΧΧΧΧΒΒΒΒΔΔΓΓΓΓ|ΙΙΙ ὡς ὡς  
Κεφ[ά]λαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνδρ[ο]κλέους ἀρχῆς  
15 κα[ὶ] χσυνάρχοντων ΒΒΒΒΑΤΒΒΒΒΔΔΙΙΙΙ ὡς τ[ό]κου κεφάλαιον τῶ

ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνδροκλέους ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων  
 τῶν ἈΤΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ 6 v.

Τάδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι Φωκιάδης ἐλχς Οἴου καὶ χσυνάρχοντες  
 ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥτις Πλ[ειστίας]  
 πρῶτος v | ἐγραμμάτευε, στρατηγοῖς περὶ Πελοπόννησον Δη[μο]-  
 σθένει Ἀλκισθένους Ἀφιδναίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνητίδος πρυτανείας  
 τετάρτης [πρυτα]νευούσης τρίτη ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας ἐσ[εληλυ]-  
 20 θύλας ἐχς || Ὀπισθοδόμον ἈΔΔ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΠΠΗΗΗΗ  
 Δ v v Ἑτέρα δόσις στρατηγοῖς [Νικίαι Νικηράτου Κῶδα]ντίδῃ καὶ  
 χσυνάρχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανείας ἐνάτης πρυ[ανευού]-  
 σης πέμπτη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέραι τῆς π[ρυταν]είας ἐσ[εληλυθ]ύλας Η·  
 τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΤΤΧΧΧΠΠΗΠΔ v | Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου  
 ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκιάδου ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων Η[ἈΔΔ v:  
 τόκου κεφάλαιον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι] ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκιάδου  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων Τ[ΤΤΧΧΧΠΠΗΠΔΔ 4 v]

25 Τάδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι Θ[ουκυ]δίδης Ἀχερδούσιος καὶ χσυνάρ-  
 χοντες ἐπὶ Ἰσάρχου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥτις Ἐπί[λ]υκος  
 [πρῶ]τος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἔνοις Δ[- 14 - | . . . . . καὶ  
 χσυνάρχουσιν καὶ νέοις] Χαροπίδῃ Σκα[μβ]ωνίδῃ καὶ χσυνάρχουσιν  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθων]τίδος πρυτανείας πρώτης πρυταν[ευού]σης ἔκτη καὶ  
 εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας στρατηγοῖς ἐς | τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἈΔΔΤΤΤ  
 ΠΠ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΧΧΧΧΠΠΗΠΔΠΙΙΙΙ v Δευτέρα δόσις  
 30 ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . | ἴδος πρυτανείας τρίτης πρυταν[ευού]σης δωδεκάτῃ  
 τῆς πρυτανείας ἈΔΤΤΤΤ[ΧΧΧΧΗΗΠΠ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΧΧΧ  
 ΠΠΤΤΙΙΙΙ v Τρίτῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος πρυτανείας ἐβδόμης  
 πρυτανευούσης δευτέραι τῆς πρυτανείας ΠΤΧ]ΗΗ· τόκος τούτοις  
 ἐγένετο ΠΗΔΔΔΤΤΙC v Τετάρτῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς | Ἀκαμαντίδος  
 πρυτανείας ὀγδόσῃ πρυτανευούσης τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας Η·  
 τόκος τούτοις | ἐγένετο ΤΧΧΠΠΗΗΗ v v Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου  
 35 ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Θουκυδίδου [ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόν]των ΗΠΔ  
 ΤΤΤ v Κεφάλαιον τόκου τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Θουκυδίδου ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων ΤΤΠΠΗΠΠΙΙΙΙC v v

Τάδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι Τιμοκλῆς Εἰταῖος καὶ χσυνάρχοντες  
 ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥτις Δημήτριος Κόλλυ-  
 τεὺς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας (?) Εὐρυμέδοντι  
 Μυρρινουσίῳ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πρυτανείας  
 πρώτης πρυτανευούσης ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας ΠΠΤΤΤΤΧΧΧΧ  
 40 ΠΠΗΗΔΔ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο || ΧΧΧΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΙΙΙC v

Δευτέρ]α δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανεί[ας τρίτης πρυτανευού]σης  
 'ενδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας] ΤΤ<sup>Π</sup> τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο Η<sup>Π</sup>Δ<sup>Π</sup>†††  
 ||||[ΙC v Τρίτῃ δόσις] ἐπὶ τῇς . . . . . ἰδος πρυτανείας τετάρτης  
 πρυτανευούσης τετάρτῃ τῆς πρυτα[νείας παρὰ] Σαμ[ίω]ν ΔΤ|XXX  
 ΗΗΗ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο] <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ††† v Τετάρτῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Αἰαντ[ίδος πρυτ]ανεί[ας ὀγδ]όῃς πρυτανευούσης πέμπτῃ καὶ| εἰκοστῇ  
 45 τῆς πρυτανείας Η· τόκος τούτο[ις ἐγέν]ετο Χ<sup>Π</sup>Η[Η v Τελ]λευταία  
 δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδ[ος] πρυτανείας δεκάτῃς πρυτανευούσης τῇ  
 τρίτῃ τῆς πρ[υτανεί]ας Δ<sup>Π</sup>ΤΤΤΗΔΔ†††ΙC τόκος τούτων] ΗΔΔ  
 †††ΙC v Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώ[ματος] ἐπὶ τῆς Τιμ[οκλέου]ς  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ|ΔΔΤΤΧ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΔΔΔΔΔ†††ΙC v  
 Κεφάλαιον τόκου τοῖς ἀναλωθεῖσι χρήμασι | ἐπὶ τῆς Τιμοκλέους  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων Τ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΔ†††ΙC v

Κεφάλαι[ον ἀ]ναλώματος χσύμπαυ[τος] Ἀθηναί[ας] ἐν τοῖς] τῆ-  
 ταρσι ἐ]τεσι ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήν[αια] <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΔΔΔΔ<sup>Π</sup>ΤΤ  
 50 Χ[ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>†††.|| Κεφά]λαιον τόκου χσύμπαυ[τος] Ἀθη[ναί]ας ἐν τοῖς  
 τέτταρσι ἐτεσι ἐκ Παν[αθηναίων] ἐς Πα[ναθήν]αια Δ<sup>Π</sup>ΤΤΤΧΧΧ  
<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓ††††† v

Τάδε] Ἀθηναί[ας] Νίκης ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ἰδος πρυτανείας [τε-  
 τάρ]της πρ[υτανευού]σης τετάρτῃ τῆς πρυτα[νείας] Τιμοκ[λῆ]ς Εἰτεαί[ος]  
 καὶ χσυνάρχοντες πα[ρό]δοσα[ν] <sup>Π</sup>Τ· τόκος] τούτοις ἐγ[ένε]το Η[ΗΗ  
 †††] vacat |

[Τάδε ἐλογίσα]ντο [οἱ] λογιστ[αὶ] ὀφειλόμ]εν[α τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐν  
 55 τοῖς τέττ]αρσι ἐτ[ε]σι ἐκ Παν[αθηναίων] ἐς Παναθήν[αια]· [τάδε  
 παρέδοσ]αν [οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Γόργ]ο[ν]ος Οἰνείδου Ἰκαρί[ει]δος  
 καὶ χσυνάρχοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου χ]ρημάτων ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου ἀρχοντος  
 στρατ[ηγ]οῖς Νικίαι καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣν Δημήτρι[ος]  
 πρῶτ[ος] ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντ[ίδ]ος πρυτανείας | πρώτης  
 πρυτανευούσης Ἑκατομβαιῶ[ν]ος ὀγ[δ]όῃ φθίνοντος, τετάρτῃ καὶ  
 εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας ἐσεληλυθυίας. v Ἀρ[τέμ]ιδος Ἀγρ[οτέρ]ας  
 60 - 40 - || - 18 - · τόκος τούτου ΗΗ]Η<sup>Π</sup>Δ - 42 - | - 29 - Η· τόκος τούτου  
 - 35 - | - 17 - Ποσειδῶ[ν]ος ἐπὶ Σο[υν]ώϊ - 13 - · τόκος τούτου - 15 - |  
 - 21 - · τόκος τούτου [ - 6 - Ἀρτέμ]ιδος Μουνιχί[α]ς (Τ)ΤΧΧΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>†  
 65 - 13 - | - 52 - ΗΗΔΔΓ††· τόκος τούτου . . . . . || . . . . .] οὐ Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗ  
<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΓ†† - 36 - Δ††††||· τόκος τούτου . . . . . | . . . . .] ΙC  
 Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἱππολυ[τεί]ῳ - 24 - ] †††††ΙC v Μουσ[ῶ]ν . . . . .  
 τόκος τούτου Γ†† v Ἀπόλλωνος Ζωστή[ρος] - 21 - Ἀδρασ[τεί]ας  
<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓ†· τόκος τούτου † | Βενδ[ίδος] <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓ†· τόκος τούτου

- † - 29 - ] Ι C ) ν Ἀπόλλων[ος - 8 - | . . . ]· τούτου τόκος Γ††† ν  
 70 - 36 - Ἑρακλέους ἐν [Κυνოსάργε|| ΔΔ· τ]ούτου τόκος ΙC ν Ἡ[- 22 -  
 Δημ]οφώντος . . . . . τόκος τού[ου - 9 - | Ἀθηναί][ας ἐπὶ Παλ-  
 ληνίδι - 15 -· τόκος]ς τούτου ΗΔΔΓ††††† ΙC ) ν Ἀπόλλων[ος  
 - 8 - | - 20 - Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνία]ς ΧΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΓ††††· τόκος  
 τούτου Δ - 11 - | - 9 - ΧΗΔ[- 24 - Ἀθ]ηναί[ας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ Δη-  
 ριον[ε]ίωι [- 9 - | τόκος το]ύτου Δ† [- 11 - Χ]ΠΗ[- 9 -· τόκος τούτου  
 75 ΔΔC ν Ποσειδώνος Καλαυρε[άτου . . . . .]|| τόκος]ς τούτου [. . . .  
 Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώ]ματος τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῆς πρώτης  
 [δ]όσεω[ς τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργ]οίνου ἀρχοντος ♠♠♠ΠΠΗΗ[ΗΗΠ[ΔΔΔΔ ν  
 Κεφάλ]αιον τόκου τούτωι τῷ ἀναλώματι ΧΧΗΔΔ [- 7 - | Δευτ]έρ[αν  
 δόσων παρέδοσαν] ὅι ταμίαι τῶν ἄλ]λων θεῶν Γόργωνος Οἰνείδου  
 Ἰκαριεὺς [καὶ χυν]άρχοντες καθ' ἕκαστον θεὸν] ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων]  
 ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος πρυτανείας δεκάτῃς πρυταν[ευούσης Σκιροφοριῶνος  
 οὐδόῃ φθ]ίνοντος εἰ]κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας ν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας  
 80 || ΤΤΤΤΧΠΠΗΗΗΗΠ· τόκος τούτου] Δ††††† ΙC ) ν Ἀφροδίτης  
 ἐν Κήποις ΤΤΠΠΠΔΔΔΓ· τόκος τούτου Π††††† ΙC | - 16 -  
 ΧΧΠΠΗ]ΗΗΔΔΔΔ[. . . .· τούτου] τόκος ††††C ) ν Διονύσου ΗΗΗ  
 Π†††· τόκος τοῦτου . . . | - 19 -· τ]όκος τοῦτου . . ν Ποσειδώνος  
 ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ ΤΤΤΤΧΠΔΔΠ†††††· τόκος τούτου Δ††††† ΙC ν  
 - 6 - ΧΧ]ΧΧΠΠΗΗΔΔ[ΔΔΠ†††††· τ]όκος τούτου †††††C ν Ἀρ-  
 τέμιδος Μουνιχίας - 7 - | - 17 - †† ν Θησέως ΠΠΠΠΠ††††† ΙC  
 85 τόκος τούτου ΙC ) ν Ἰλισοῦ ΗΗΗΗ†††· τόκος τούτου || ΙC - 14 -  
 τ]όκος τούτου ν Ἡφαίσ]του ΤΧΠΠΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ†††· τόκος τούτου  
 †††††C ν Ἀφ[ροδίτ]ης ἐν Ἱππολυτείῳ . . ] ††· τόκος]ς τούτου  
 . . . .· ] ν Μουσῶν ΠΔΔ†· τόκος τούτου ΙC ) ν Θεοῦ χσενικοῦ  
 [- 5 -] - 13· τόκος]ς τούτου . . ν Ἑρακλέους ἐν Κυνοςάργει ΠΔΔΔ·  
 τόκος τούτου C ν Δημοφώντος - 17 -] ν Ἀθηναί[ας ἐπὶ Παλλη]νίδι  
 ΧΧΧΗΗΗΗΔΠ††††· τόκος τούτου †††††C ν Ἀ[πόλλω]ρος - 15 -  
 τ]όκος]ς - 6 - ν Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας ΗΗΗΠ†††††C τόκος τούτου  
 90 ||C ν . . . || - 34 -]C ) ν Ἀθηναί[ας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ †††C τόκος τού-  
 του . . . . | - 34 - ] Δ†††††· τόκος τούτου C ν Μητρὸς ἐν Ἀγρας  
 ΗΗ - 6 - | - 35 - ††· τούτου τόκος C ν Ἀθηναί[ας Ζωστηρί]ας Η  
 - 7 - | - 34 - ΔΔΠ††· τόκος τούτου ΙC ν ν Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου  
 ἀναλώματος τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῆς δευ]τέρ[ας δόσε]ως ἐπὶ Γοργολίου  
 95 ἀρχοντος ν ♠♠ΤΤΤΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ[ΠΔΔΔΔ||Π††† ν ν ν Κεφά-  
 λαιον τόκου τούτωι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ ΠΔΔΔ†† ν ν Κεφάλαιον ἀνα-  
 λώματος τοῦ ἀρχαίου | ἐπὶ Γοργολίου ἀρχοντος ν ΠΤΤ]ΤΤΠ[Π

ΗΗΗΗ]ϞΔΔΔΓ††† υ υ Κεφάλαιον τόκου χσύμπαντος το[ύτωι |  
τῶι ἀργυρίω ΧΧΗΗ†† - - -] *vacat* |

- [Τάδε ἐλογίσαντο 'οι λογιστ]αῖ ἐν τ[οῖς τέτ]ταρσιw ἔτεσιw τόκου  
τοῖς τῆς θεοῦ, 'ὰ 'οι πρό[τεροι | λογιστ]αῖ λελογισμένα παρέ[δοσαν] ἐν  
100 τοῖς 'ε[πτά] ἔτεσιw, τόκου τετρακισχιλίοις ταλ[άντοις]||ταλάντωι τετρα-  
κισχιλίοις πεντα[κοσίοις εἴ]κοσι δυοῖν δραχμαῖw· τοῦτοις τόκος ἐγέ-  
[νετο | ΗϞΔΔΔΔϞΧϞΗΗΔ†††||] ?] *vac.* | [Τάδε ἐλογίσαντο  
τοῖς ἄλ]λοις θεοῖς ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσιw ἔτεσιw, 'ὰ 'οι πρότεροι λογι-  
[σταῖ | λελογισμένα παρέδοσαν] ἐν τοῖς 'ε[πτά] ἔτεσιw πε[ντακοσίοις  
ταλάντοις] διακοσίοις τ[αλάντοις] 'εχσήκοντα ταλάντοις] 'εχς ταλ[άντοις  
105 χιλί]αις ἐνενήκοντα δραχμαῖς πέντε δραχ[μαῖς π]έντε ὀβολοῖς τόκου  
ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσιw ἔτεσιw Δ]ΔΔΔΤΤΧΧΗΗΗΔΔΔΓ†††||C *vac.* |  
[Τάδε ἐλογίσαντο τόκου τοῖς] 'Αθηναῖα[s Νίκης] 'οι ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσιw  
ἔτεσιw, 'ὰ 'οι πρό[τεροι | λογιστ]αῖ λελογισμένα π[αρέδοσαν] ἐν τοῖς  
'ε[πτά] ἔτεσιw εἴκοσι ταλάντοις δυοῖν ταλ[άντοις]w τρισχιλίοις ἐνενή-  
κοντα δραχμαῖς] ὅκτω [δραχ]μαῖς δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ΤϞϞΔΔΔΔ††||  
[||] *vac.* | [Τάδε ἐλογίσαντο καὶ τοῖς] 'Ερμού ἐν [τοῖς] τέτταρσιw]w ἔτεσιw,  
110 'ὰ 'οι πρότεροι λογιστ]αῖ λ[ελογι]σμένα παρέδοσαν ἐν τοῖς 'ε[πτά]  
ἔ]τεσιw ταλάντωι τ[ετρακοσίοις] ἐνενήκοντα δραχμαῖς· [τόκος | τού-  
τοις ἐγένετο - -] *vacat.* |

[Ἀθηναῖαι Νίκη] ἀρχαῖον ὀφείλουσιν ἐν] ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw : (ΔΔ)Ϟ  
ΤΤΤΧΧΧϞΔΔΔΔΓ†††N *vac.* | [Ἀθηναῖαι Νίκη] τόκου ὀφεί-  
λουσιν : Ϟ . .]ΔΔΔ†||C *vac.* |

- [Ἀθηναῖαι Πολιάδι ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw] τὸ ἀρχαῖον [ὀ]φείλουσιν :  
115 ✕ ✕ ✕ ✕ ϞΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤϞϞΗ[ΗϞΔΔΓ· ||] 'Αθηναῖαι Πολιάδι  
τόκου ὀφείλουσιν ἐν] ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw : ] ✕ ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΧΧΧϞ  
ΗΗΗ†††† *vac.* |

- [Ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw 'Αθηναῖας Νίκης καὶ] Πολιάδος : [✕ ✕ ✕ ✕] ϞΗ  
ΗϞ(Δ)ΔΤΤΤΧΧΧΗΗ[ΗΔΔ†††||] *vac.* | Ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw καὶ  
'Αθηναῖας Πολιάδος καὶ Νίκης τόκου : ✕ ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ[- 7  
to 9 - ΔΔΔΓ†††||C] *vacat* | [Τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὀφείλουσιν  
ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw : ϞΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ†††||]. ||  
120 [Τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὀφείλουσι τόκου ἐν] ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw : - - - |  
- -] *vacat* | [Ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw ὀφείλουσιν ἀρχαῖον ἀπ]ασι τοῖς  
θεοῖς : ϞϞϞΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤΤΧΧΧΧϞΗΗΗϞΔΔΔΔΓ†††. | Τάδε  
ἀπασι τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλουσι τόκου ἐν] ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιw : - - -].

restoration of ll. 37-8 put forward by Wade-Gery (who offers the alternative proposal of *Εὐρυμέδοντι Θεοκλέους* for *ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας* Ed.); Meritt accepts *Εὐρυμέδοντι*, but prefers *ἔς Σκιδώνην* to *ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας*. The first extant letters of l. 3 may be *εἰ* or *η*. In l. 42 Meritt now prefers *παρὰ Σαμίων* to the *πρὸς* Σαμίων of his published text. In l. 112 [Π was written instead of Π (see note 5 below) and Δ was twice written for Δ and this mistake is repeated in l. 116. My suggestions for ll. 120, 123 are in each case one letter longer than we should expect.

The following conspectus may serve to make clearer the structure and content of this long and important text, the reconstruction of which by Meritt constitutes a veritable triumph of acumen and industry. He will publish it afresh on pp. 136-43 of his forthcoming work *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*, but the references in the following commentary are, save where otherwise stated, to his *Athenian Calendar*.

I. Ll. 1, 2. Heading of the whole document. [For the *λογισταί* cf. No. 30, l. 2 and note.]

II. Ll. 2-51. Loans from Athena Polias in four successive 'senatorial' years, with interest reckoned to the close of the quadriennium.

	Lines.	Year.	Number of loans.	Total loans.	Interest due.
a	2-16	426-5	6	261 T. 5610 $\frac{7}{12}$ dr.	11 T. 199 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.
b	16-24	425-4	2	130 T.	3 T. 3670 dr.
c	25-36	424-3	4	163 T.	2 T. 5255 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.
d	36-48	423-2	5	192 T. 1642 $\frac{5}{12}$ dr.	1 T. 813 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.
e	48-51	Quadriennium	17	747 T. 1253 dr.	18 T. 3938 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.

III. Ll. 51-3. Loan in 423-2 from Athena Nike, 6 T.; interest 302 $\frac{1}{2}$  dr.

IV. Ll. 54-97. Two loans in 423-2 from the other gods, amounting to 54 T. 5988 dr.; interest, over 2202 dr. The share of each individual god in these loans is accurately recorded, together with the interest due in respect of it: the order followed, which is the same in both loans (Meritt, *op. cit.* 22), is probably that adopted in the ledgers of the *ταμίαι* τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.



V. Ll. 98-111. Interest due for the quadriennium, 426-5 to 423-2, on loans made in the previous seven years.

	Lines.	Lender.	Loan.	Interest.
a	98-101	Athena Polias	4001 T. 4522 dr.	c. 195 T. 1713½ dr.
b	102-5	Other gods	766 T. 1095⅝ dr.	37 T. 2338⅝ dr.
c	106-8	Athena Nike	22 T. 3098½ dr.	1 T. 592⅝ dr.
d	109-11	Hermes	1 T. 490 dr.	?

VI. Ll. 112-23. Totals for eleven years, 433-2 to 423-2.

	Lines.	Lender.	Loan.	Interest.
a	112-3	Athena Nike	23 T. 3548⅓ dr.*	At least 5 T. 91⅝ dr.
b	114-5	Athena Polias	4748 T. 5775 dr.	1248 T. 3804 dr.
c	116-7	Nike and Polias	4777 T. 3323½ dr.*	At least 1248 T. 3895⅝ dr.
d	119-20	Other gods	821 T. 1083⅝ dr.	?
e	122-3	Grand Total	5599 T. 4897⅓ dr.*	?

For the asterisked items in the above table see note 5 below. As the funds of Hermes were apparently administered by the Treasurers of Athena and not by those of the other gods (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 301. 12, 69; cf. Wade-Gery, *Num. Chron.* 1930, 37), we may suppose that the loan from Hermes (§ V d) was not reckoned with those from the other gods (§ VI d), but was included in the grand total (§ VI e).

In these accounts the following points call for notice.

(1) Interest is reckoned at the rate of one drachma *per diem* for five talents, i.e. slightly over 1½ % *per annum*; but 'accuracy, as we understand the term to-day, was not in every instance attainable, and we must remember, in studying the amounts of interest preserved in the inscription, that a slight variation is possible from the amount as it would now be obtained by the use of decimal notation' (Meritt, 37). Before this quadriennium the rate of interest seems to have been five times as high.

(2) Public finance is based on the 'senatorial' year introduced into Athens by Clisthenes—a solar year beginning at the summer solstice and divided into ten prytanies of 36 or 37

days, without cycles or intercalations. Thus the quadriennium here under review comprises 1,464 days. The 'civil' year, on the other hand, begins on Hekatombaion 1, which might fall as early as June 20 or as late as August 15 (Meritt, 120); this was divided into 12 months of 29 or 30 days, with occasional intercalations subject to no rigid cycle (Meritt, 102; cf. No. 74, l. 53). Distinct from each of these is the 'sacred' year 'from Panathenaea to Panathenaea' (ll. 1, 54), i.e. from Hekatombaion 28 in one civil year to Hekatombaion 27 in the next; this was the year of office of the Hellenotamiae and of the *ταμίαι* of sacred funds (Meritt, 19). Our inscription is thus not strictly accurate in stating that the accounts here presented run 'from Panathenaea to Panathenaea' (l. 1) or refer to the archonships of Euthynus, Stratocles, Isarchus, and Aminias (ll. 5, 17, 25, 37); the correct designation of each year is ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ᾗ ὁ δεῖνα πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτερε (ll. 4, 17, 26, 37).

(3) The dates of the loans here registered are expressed in terms of the senatorial year, i.e. by the name of the prytany-tribe, its order, and the day of the prytany. Only in the records of the two loans received from the 'other gods' is the date according to the civil calendar added (ll. 58, 79). The materials afforded by this inscription have proved invaluable for the reconstruction of the Athenian calendar in the period of the Peloponnesian War (Meritt, ch. ix).

(4) In the above conspectus the total loans for the eleven years (§ VI) can be calculated by adding the loans made in the quadriennium under review (§§ II-IV) to those made in the previous seven years (§ V). No similar reckoning is, however, possible in the case of the interest, for § V records only the interest accruing during the quadriennium on loans previously contracted and leaves out of account the interest already due on those loans.

(5) The *λογισταί* have been guilty of an error in writing  $\Gamma^{\text{B}}$  in place of  $\Gamma^{\text{A}}$  in l. 112 (Meritt, 49 f.), and so converting 3,098 into 3,548 dr. This error explains the sum-total reached in l. 116 (§ VI c), which should be 2,873 instead of 3,323 dr., and doubtless also vitiated the grand total (§ VI e).

(6) In the course of the eleven years ending about the beginning of July, 422 B.C., the Athenian state had borrowed from sacred moneys almost 5,600 T., and owed as interest a sum which, though we cannot calculate it exactly (§ VI e), in all probability considerably exceeded 1,300 T. Our main difficulty in utilizing these data lies in the fact, recently emphasized by Wade-Gery (*Cl. Qu.* xxiv. 38), that we do not know whether these loans represent the total expenditure for military purposes in the years in question or only that part of it which could not be met out of the current revenue of the state. The latter view would seem to be antecedently more probable, but we find examples (e.g. l. 32 f.) of sums borrowed shortly after the Great Dionysia, i.e. at a time when the *φόρος* had only recently been paid over by the allies to the Hellenotamiae.

(7) Only in a few cases is the purpose of the loan expressly indicated in this record. Hippocrates and his colleagues (l. 3) received 20 T. early in August, 426, possibly for an invasion of Megaris (cf. Thuc. iv. 66, relating to 424). On October 21, 425, a sum of 30 talents was paid *στρατηγοῖς* [is this an error for *στρατηγῶν* ?] *περὶ Πελοπόννησον Δημοσθένει Ἀλκισθένους Ἀφιδναίῳ* (l. 18), probably for the consolidation of the position at Pylos (cf. Meritt, 91; for the restoration *Οἰνηίδος* in l. 18 f. see *A.F.D.* 13, note 2). In the opening days of May, 424, Nicias and his colleagues (l. 20) received 100 T., presumably for the expedition to Cythera (Thuc. iv. 53), while at the close of July 33 T. 550 dr. was borrowed for operations in Thrace (l. 28 f.). [For the meaning of 'last year's Hellenotamiae' in l. 26 see Meritt, 18 f.]. In July, 423, Eurymedon (?) and his colleagues (l. 38) received 59 T. 4,720 dr., possibly for an expedition to Ionia (cf. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.* xxiv. 37). But even when such specific indications are lacking, certain loans can be brought into connexion with operations recorded by Thucydides, as Wade-Gery has shown with reference to the year 423 B.C.

The following table shows how the loans here recorded were distributed over the calendar years 426 to 422 B.C.

Year B.C.	Athena Polias.	Athena Nike.	Other gods.	Total.
426 (July-Dec.)	98 T. 5610 $\frac{7}{12}$ dr.	—	—	98 T. 5610 $\frac{7}{12}$ dr.
425	193 T.	—	—	193 T.
424	156 T. 4800 dr.	—	—	156 T. 4800 dr.
423	180 T. 2720 dr.	6 T.	30 T. 5990 dr.	217 T. 2710 dr.
422 (Jan.-June)	118 T. 122 $\frac{5}{12}$ dr.	—	23 T. 5998 dr.	142 T. 120 $\frac{5}{12}$ dr.
Total	747 T. 1253 dr.	6 T.	54 T. 5988 dr.	808 T. 1241 dr

## 65

## Thank-offering of the Messenians and Naupactians:

425 B.C.

Near the foot of the lofty triangular basis of Parian marble which supported the Nike of Paeonius at Olympia. Discovered in 1875 near the S.E. corner of the temple of Zeus.

Ionic writing (cf. H. Pomtow, *Jahrb.* xxxvii. 81 f.). Facs. in *Imag.* 30. 45.

Hicks-Hill, 63 + *G.D.I.* 4637; Janell, 129; *I.G.* v (1). 1568; Nachman-son, *H.G.I.* 21; *S.I.G.* 80. Cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 336, 595; C. D. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* viii. 137; H. Pomtow, *Jahrb.* xxxvii. 55 ff. (esp. 81); *S.E.G.* iii. 328.

Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ

Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμιων.

Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος,

καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.

Pausanias says (v. 26. 1) that the Messenians who had been settled by the Athenians at Naupactus erected a statue of Nike at Olympia, in his view, to commemorate their war with Acarnania and Oeniadae (between 460 and 450: cf. Paus. iv. 25), but that they themselves connected it with the aid they had rendered to the Athenians at Sphacteria in 425 (cf. Thuc. iv. 9. 1, 36. 1, 41. 2; Diod. xii. 63), explaining the use of the indeterminate phrase ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμιων as due to fear of the Spartans. (For a full discussion of this passage see the editions of Pausanias by Frazer, iii. 643 ff., and by Hitzig and Blümner, ii. 442 f.)

Pausanias' own view must be rejected on epigraphical and

on archaeological grounds, and it seems best to accept the Messenian tradition, although the argument used to support it is of little or no value, since similar phrases occur not infrequently in early dedications (e.g. *S.I.G.* 29, 48, 49, 51, 140, 166; Paus. v. 24. 7).

A very similar monument, consisting of a bronze statue on a basis of Pentelic marble, has been discovered near the Athenian portico at Delphi and exhaustively described and discussed by H. Pomtow (*Jahrb.* xxxvii. 55 ff., *R.E.* Suppl. iv. 1308 ff.; cf. *S.I.G.* 81), whose final restoration of its dedicatory inscription runs thus:

[Μεσ]σάνιο[ι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι] ἀνέθ[εν δεκάταν ἀπ]-  
[ὸ Λε]οκάδ[ος καὶ Ἀμπρακίας τ]ῶι Ἀπ[όλλωνι τῶι Πυ]-  
[θίῳ].

It commemorates, if this restoration is correct, the participation of the Messenians in Demosthenes' campaigns of 426 B.C. in N.W. Greece (cf. especially Thuc. iii. 107-8), and may have been erected in the following year. Some two years later the Olympian counterpart was set up to mark the further successes won in 425.

The Athenians also, it may be noted, dedicated two statues of Nike about the same time on the Acropolis, one [ἀπὸ] Ἀμπρακιωτῶν κα[ὶ τῆ]ς ἐν Ὀλπαις στρατι[ᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐπαυ[αστ]άντων τῶι δῆμῳι τῶι Κερκυραίων [καὶ ἀπ'] Ἀν[ακτοριῶν] (*S.I.G.* 264, Hicks-Hill, 147, *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 403) and the other ἐς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ (Paus. iv. 36. 6).

The Messenians, settled in Naupactus under Athenian auspices at the close of the Helot Revolt (Thuc. i. 103. 3), apparently combined with some of the previous inhabitants of the town (l. 1): for their history from 462 to 398 B.C. see H. Pomtow, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* cliii. 579 ff.

The dedication, both at Olympia and at Delphi, is in the Doric dialect though in Ionic letters. The artist's signature and the added note are in Ionic or Attic, save for the word *ναόν*. In all probability Paeonius was a native not of the well-known Mende on the peninsula of Pallene but of the Ionian city of that name north of Aenus in Thrace (Paus. v. 27.

12). The metrical record (l. 4) of his success in the competition for designing the bronze-gilt Nike which crowned the temple pediment and the λέβητες at its extremities (Paus. v. 10. 4) is a slightly later addition to the original inscription (H. Pomtow, *Jahrb.* xxxvii. 81): the word ἀκρωτήρια can hardly refer to the sculptures in the eastern pediment, which Pausanias attributes to Paeonius (v. 10. 8: cf. Frazer's note *ad loc.*).

## 66

Re-assessment of the Tribute of the Athenian Empire :  
425-4 B.C.

Thirty-two or more fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; all now in the Epigraphical Museum except one (frag. n), which is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The stele was reconstructed in 1929 by Professor West.

Attic writing, στοιχειδόν. The aspirate sign is sometimes omitted. Phot of the extant fragments of the assessment-lists in *Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 175 ff., facs. *ibid.* Plate I.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 63 + To this inscription also belong some fragments of i<sup>2</sup>. 64 (see below), i<sup>2</sup>. 555 f (cf. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1909, 58) and i<sup>2</sup>. 65, ll. 59-66; Hill, *Sources*, i. 72, ii. 28 a (p. 426), iii. 308. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 26 ff., 321 f. (*S.E.G.* iii. 11, 12); West and Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 59 ff., xxx. 149; West, *ibid.* xxix. 135 ff., *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. 60 ff., lxi. 217 ff., *Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 174 ff.; C. Alexander, *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxi. 176 f.; F. E. Adcock, *C.A.H.* v. 236; W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 273 ff.; M. Ravà, *Stud. It. Fil.* n.s. viii. 160 ff.; W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1930, 333 ff.; Meritt, *A.F.D.* 12 ff.

Θ[εοί]. | Τά[χισι]ς [φ]ό[ρον]. | \*Εδοχσεν τῇ[ι] βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ,  
Οἰνητῆς] ἐπρ[ο]στάνευε, . . . ]ων ἐγρα[μ]μάτευε, - 7 - ἐπε[σ]τάτει, Θού-  
δι[π]πος εἶπε· πέμψαι ἄνδρας] ἐκ τῶν [κηρύκων, ὅσους] ἂν χειρο[το-  
5 νήσῃ ἢ βουλῇ, ἐς τὰ]]ς πόλεις, δύο [μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης], δύο δὲ  
ἐς [τὴν Ἰωνίαν, δύο δ]ὲ ἐπὶ Ν[ή]σους, δύο δὲ ἐφ' Ἑ[λλ]ήσπ[ον]τον· οὗτοι  
δὲ ἀγγελάντων τῶι κοινῶι [ὅτι δεῖ περὶ τάχσ]εως παρ[ε]ῖναι Ἀθή-  
ναζε τοῦ Μαι[μακ]τηριῶν[ος μηνός. Κληρῶσαι δὲ ἐ]σαγωγέα[ς δέκα  
ἄνδρας· τούτους δὲ [ἐλίσθαι καὶ γραμμα]τέα καὶ χτυ[γγραμ]ματέα  
ἐχς ἑαυτ[ῶν]. Ἡ δὲ β[ου]λὴ καὶ τάκτας ἑλ[ε]σθω [ἀντίκα μάλα δέκα  
ἄνδ]ρας· οὗτοι [δὲ τὰς πόλεις δέκα ἡμερ]ῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἀ[ν] αἰρεθῶσι  
10 διαγραφσάντων τοῖς κήρυξι, ἢ τ[ῇ]ς ἡμέρας [ἐκαστῆς ὀφειλέτω  
αὐτῶν] ἑκάστ[ος] δραχμὰς ἑκατόν· τούτους δὲ ὀρκωσάντων ἵ]οι  
ὀρκωτὰ[ι] τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐφ' ἧς ἂν τυγχ[άνωσι αἰρεθέντες ἢ τῆς

ἡμέρας ἑκάστης τῇ]ν αὐτὴν ζημίαν ὀφειλόντων. Εὐθύς δὲ ὁ]ι ἐ[σ]-  
 α[γωγῆς ἐπ]μμε[λόςθων τῶν δικῶν καθάπερ ἂν φση]φίσσεται ὁ [δῆμος·  
 τῶν δὲ τακτῶν ὁ λα]χῶν κα[ὶ ὁ] πολέμαρχος διαδικαζέτων τὰς δίκας  
 ἐν τ]ῇ ἡλιαία [ἐπάναναγκες κατὰ τὰς ἐντο]λὰς τῶν ἡ]λιαστῶν· ἐ[ἂν  
 15 δὲ ὁ]ι τάκται μὴ τάχσωσι τῇσι|| πόλεσι[ε] κατὰ τὰς δι[ι]αδικασίας,  
 εὐθυ]νέσθω μ[ε]ν[ε]ρίασι δραχ[μ]ῇσι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἑκάστος αὐ]τῶν.  
 Ὅ]ι δὲ [νομο]θέτα[ι δικαστήριον] νέον κα[θ]ιστάντων χ[ι]λίων δικαστῶν.  
 Τοῦ δὲ φόρου, ἐπειδ[ὴ] ὀλείζων ἐγ[έ]νετο, τὰς [ν]υν τάχσεις χσ[τ]ὸν τῇ  
 [βου]λῇ χσυντα[χ]άντων ἐπὶ τῆς νέας καὶ τῆς παλ[α]ιαῆς ἀρχῆς  
 [κατὰ] μέρος ἅπασας τοῦ Π[ο]σιδεῖω[ν]ος μηνός· χ[ρ]ηματίζω δὲ  
 περὶ τοῦ φόρου εὐθύς | ἂ]πὸ νομην[ί]ας κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἕνα ταχθ[ῇ]σ[ι]  
 20 ὁ φόρος ἐν τῷ Π[ο]σιδεῖω[ν]ι μηνὶ χσύμπας. Ἡ δὲ βουλ[ῇ] χρη-  
 ματ[ι]ζέτω καὶ χ[ρ]ῆσθω ἕως ἂν τ[α]χ[σ]οί[η]ς γένηται, ἔα μὴ τις  
 ἄλλου δῆται ἢ στρατ[ι]ά. Τ[ὸ]ν δὲ φόρον ὀλείζω μὴ π[ό]λει ἐπιταχ-  
 σάντων μ[η]δὲ μ[ι]α ἢ ὅσον φόρον νῦν φέρει ἐπιτάτ[ου]ν[αι], ἔα μὴ  
 τ[ι]ς φαίνηται ἀπορία ὥστε οὐσ]ης τ[ῇ]ς χώρας ἀδυνάτου μὴ  
 πλέω ἐσφέρειν. Τῇνδε] δὲ τ[ῇ] γ γ[νώμην] [καὶ τὸ φση]φ[ισμα] τότε καὶ  
 τὸμ φόρ[ο]ν, ὅς ἂν ταχθ[ῇ] τῇ πόλει ἑκάστη, ἀναγ[ρά]φ[ο]σ[ας] ὁ  
 γρ[α]μματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐν δυοῖν στ[ή]λα[ι]ν λιθίαιν [καταθέτω τὴμ  
 25 μὲν ἐν τῷ βου]λευτ[ῇ] [ρ]ίω τῇν δὲ ἐμ πόλει· ἀπομισθωσάντων δὲ  
 ὁ]ι πωληταί· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον παρασχόντων ὁ]ι κ[ω]λακρέται. Τὸ  
 δὲ λοιπὸν ἀποφαίνειν τῇσι π[ό]λε[σ]ι περὶ τοῦ φόρου πρὸ τῶμ Παν-  
 αθηναίων τ[ῶ]μ με[γ]άλων. Ἐσ[τά]γειν δὲ τὴν πρυτανείαν, ἥτις ἂν  
 τυ[γ]χάνη πρυτ[ανεύουσα, τὰς τάχσεις κατὰ Π]αναθη[ν]αία· ἐὰν δὲ  
 ὁ]ι πρυτάνεις μὴ τότε ἐσ[τά]γω]σι ἐ[ς] τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴμ βουλὴν καὶ τὸ  
 δικαστ[ή]ριον | περὶ τοῦ φόρου καὶ μὴ τότε χρηματίζωσι ἐπὶ σ[φ]ῶν  
 30 αὐτῶν, ὀφείλειν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἑ[ρ]ο[ῶ]ς τῇ|| Ἀ]θηναίαι ἑκάστον  
 τῶμ π[ρ]υτάνεων κα[ὶ] τῶ[ι] δημοσίω ἑκατόν, καὶ εὐθύνεσθαι χιλί-  
 ασι | [δρα]χμ[ῇ]σι ἑκάστον τῶμ π[ρ]υτάνεων. Κα[ὶ] ἐὰν τις ἄλλος  
 διδῶι φσηφον τῇσι [πό]λεσι μὴ εἶναι τ[ὰς] τάχσεις κατὰ Π[αν]-  
 αθη[ν]αία τὰ μεγάλαι ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανείας ἥτις ἂν πρ[ώ]τῃ πρυτ[ανεύ]η,  
 ἄτ[ι]μος ἔστω καὶ τὰ χ[ρ]ήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆς θεοῦ  
 [τὸ ἐπιδέκατον]. Ἐχ[σενε]γκέτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν δῆμον [τῇ Οἰν]ῆς  
 35 π[ρ]υτ[ανεύ]ει ἑπάναναγκες ἐπειδ[ὴ] ἀπ[ί]νη ἢ στρατ[ι]ά ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν  
 [πρῶ]τον μετ[ὰ] τὰ ἑ[ρ]ο[ῶ]· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δι[α]π[ρ]αχθῇ ἐν ταύτῃ, χρημα-  
 τ[ι]ζέτω π[ε]ρὶ τούτου πρῶ[τ]ον τῇ [ν]ο]τεράι[α] χσυνε[χ]ῶς [έ]ως ἂν  
 δι[α]π[ρ]αχθῇ ἐπὶ τῇς εἰρημένῃς πρυτανείας· ἐὰν δὲ μ[ὴ] ἔχσενε[χ]-  
 κωσι ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἢ μ[ὴ] δ[ι]απρά]χσ[ω]σι ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν,

εὐθὺν ἔσθω μῦρίασι δρ[αχμῇ]σιν ἕ[καστος] τῶμ[πρυτάν]εων [πα]ρῶν  
 ὡς διακωλύων ἐπιδήλως τὰ τῇς στρα[τι]ᾶς. Τοὺς δὲ ἐς δέ[κας]  
 πρ[οσκε]κλημέ[νους] ἀχθ[ή]να[ι] ἔν[υπ]δ[ὸν] τῶν δημοσίων κλητῆ[ρων] ἵνα ἤ  
 40 βουλ[ῇ] δικά[σῃ] εὐθύς, ἐ[ἴ]αμ μὴ ὀρθῶς δοκῶσ[ι] διακο[ν]εῖν. Τὰς  
 δὲ πο[ρ]είας τοῖς κήρυχ[σι] τοῖς ἰούσι καταγράψαι κατὰ τ[ὸν] ὄρ[κο]ν  
 τοῦς τάκ[τας], ἕ[ω]ς τοῦ πο[ρ]ε[υ]θῆ[σ]αι [τα]ι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοκράτορες ἴωσι.  
 Ὅι δὲ κήρυκες | τὰς τάχ[σ]εις τῇσι π[ό]λεσι ἐπ[α]ναγ[κα]σθέντ[ω]ν ὅ[που]  
 ἂν δοκῇ ἀποφαίνειν καὶ λέγειν ὅ,τι ἂν πε[ρὶ] τῶν τ[ά]χσεων κα[ὶ]  
 τοῦ φσηφίσμα[τος] τῇσι π[ό]λεσι χρεὶ λέγ[ειν]. Τὸν δὲ δῆμον περὶ  
 τούτων φσηφίσθη[σθαι], καὶ ἔάν τ[ι] ἐχσενέγκωσι | ὅι πρυτάνεις πε[ρὶ]  
 45 τοῦ δέοντος. Ὅπως δὲ ἂν τὸμ φόρου ἀπά[γ]ωσιν [ῥ]αι πόλεις,  
 [ἐπι]μελόσθων ὅι στρατηγοὶ εὐθύς ὅτ[αν] χσυντάσῃ ἢ βουλῇ τῇν  
 τάχσιν τοῦ φ[ό]ρου, ἵνα ἤ τῇ πόλει χρήματα ἱκανὰ πρὸς τὸν  
 πόλ[ε]μον. Τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς χρήσθαι π[ε]ρὶ τοῦ φ[ό]ρου κατὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἂμ πόλεμος ἦι, ἐχσετ[ό]σαντας κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν  
 πρ[ώ]τον πόσ[α] δεῖ ἢ ἔς τὴν στρ[α]τιὰν ἢ ἐς ἄλλο τι ἀναλίσκειν· ἐν  
 δὲ τῇ ἔδρῃ τῇς βουλῆς τῇ πρώ[τῃ] περὶ τ[ο]ύτ[ω]ν τὰς δίκ[ας]  
 50 [δια]δικάζειν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀνευ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστηρίων, ἔαμ μ[ὴ]  
 ἄλλοθί [που] πρό[τερον] δίκ[ας] διαδικάζειν χειροτονῇ ὅι δῆμ[ος].  
 Τοῖς δὲ κήρυχ[σι] τοῖς ἰούσι τ[ὸ]μ μισθὸν ἀποδ[όντων] ὅι κ[ω]λακρέται.  
 - 9 - εἴπ[ε]· τὰ μέ[ν] ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ, τὰς | [δὲ] τάχσεις  
 ὅσαι ἂν κατὰ π[λέον] ταχῶσι πρώτας τοὺς πρυτάνεις, ὅι ἂν τότε  
 τυγχάνωσι πρυτ[ανεύοντες], καὶ τὸ γ[ρα]μμ[α]τέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐφίεναι  
 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ὅταν περὶ τῶν τάχσ[εων] ἦι, ὅπως ἂν ἀποκρί-  
 νω[νται] περὶ τοῦ φόρου τῇ βουλῇ. v

55 Ἐδοχ[ε]ν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Α[λλ]ῇ [ἰγ]ητ[ὸς] ἐπρυτάνευ[ε, . . .].  
 ιπ[πος] ἐγραμμάτευε, - 7 - ]ωρος ἐπεστ[άτει], Θούδιππος εἶπε· ὁπό-  
 σ[ησι] πόλεις φόρος [ἐτάχ]θη ἐπὶ τῇς [βουλῆς, ἥ] Πλειστ[ί]ας  
 πρώτος [ἐγρα]μμάτευε, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ἄρχοντας, βοῦν καὶ παν-  
 ὀπ[λ]ῖαν ἀγειν ἐς τὰ Παναθηναῖα τὰ μεγάλα ἀπάσας· πεμπόντων |  
 δὲ ἐν τῇ πομπῇ καθάπερ ἄποι[κ]οι. v v v

Κατὰ τὰδε ἔταχσεν τὸμ φόρον τῇσι πόλεσιν ἢ βουλ[ῇ], | ἢ  
 [Π]λειστίας π[ρ]ώτος ἐγραμμάτευε - 11 -, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ἄρχον-  
 60 τος, ἐπὶ τῶν [ἐσ]αγωγ[έων], οἷς Κα[ - 8 vel 10 - ἐγρα]μμάτευε - 9  
 vel 7 - ]ς.

The foregoing text, which is much fuller than any hitherto published, is due, in so far as it modifies or supplements that in *I.G.*, almost entirely to Professors West and Meritt, who with characteristic generosity have placed



at my disposal the results of their minute scrutiny of the extant fragments and of their attempts, made separately and in collaboration, to restore the text. That it can lay no claim to certainty or finality is due to the mutilated condition of the document and the absence of close parallels in other inscriptions. This is not the place to dwell on details: it is to be hoped that W. and M. will themselves shortly publish the text with an adequate commentary. Yet some points of reading and restoration call for mention here.

'Es might be restored for ἐφ' in l. 5, πρέσβεις for Ἀθήναζε in l. 6, ὁκτώ for δέκα in l. 8 (but cf. [Andoc.] c. Alcib. 11). The restoration of ll. 11-14 is especially doubtful; as an alternative W. suggests τυγχάνωσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντες, ἢ ὀφείλτω ἑκαστος τῇ]ν αὐτὴν ζῆμ[ίαν' τῶν δὲ διαδικασιῶν ὅ]ι ἐ[σ]α[γωγῆς ἐπ]ιμε- [λόςθων τῆσι πόλεσι ἐπειδὴν φση]]φίσηται ὅο [δῆμος, καὶ ὅο ἐξ αὐτῶν λα]χῶν κα[ὶ] ὅο πολέμαρχος χουνδεχθῆτων τὰς δίκας ἐν τῇ] ἡλιαία κτλ., ἐ[ὰν δὲ τὰς δίκας μὴ δεχθῆ- τον κτλ. In l. 18 W.-M. restore τὰπάσης. In l. 19 τ[αὐτά is possible, in l. 20 χ[ρήσθω] τίνα αἱ : for δῆται (= δέηται) cf. I.G. i². 83. 23. Ll. 26 ff. : W.-M. agree in regarding these lines as laying down the procedure for future assessments. In. l. 29 we might restore διαπράττωσι for χρηματίζωσι and in l. 30 μνρί]ασι for χιλ]ασι (cf. l. 37). L. 34. Cavaignac restored ἐπειδὴν ἦκη. Ll. 38 f. τοὺς δ[ὲ κήρυ]κας is also possible. L. 41. ἕως τοῦ = ἕως τίνος. L. 46. W.-M. restore ἀργύριον ἱκανὸν ἐς. In l. 47 W. suggests κατα[σκοπῆ] κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ὕψαν πόλεμος] γένηται κατὰ γῆν κτλ., and in l. 49 [τὰς γνώμ]ας [δοῦναι. L. 50 f. Possibly τ[ὸ ἐφύδιο]ν. In l. 52 W. proposes ὕσαι [ἀν ὧσι] ἀπ[οφαίμεν τῆσι πόλεσι. L. 53. Or μετὰ τῶν ἀποικ]ων. W.-M. write ἀποικ]οι. v Κατὰ δὲ τάδε.

If the text is correctly restored above, we may summarize its contents thus :

I. Ll. 1, 2. Dedication and title.

II. Ll. 3-51. First decree of Thudippus [who is otherwise unknown], providing that

(a) Eight κήρυκες shall be elected to give notice of the re-assessment, two in each district; ten ἐσαγωγείς shall be appointed by lot; ten (?) τάκται, chosen by the Council and sworn by the ὀρκωταί, shall assign the cities to the several κήρυκες; a special court of 1,000 jurors shall be empanelled by the νομοθέται to deal with the pertinent δίκαι (ll. 4-16).

(b) All existing assessments shall be reconsidered by the τάκται and the Council in the month Posideion, with a view to securing a re-assessment as speedily as possible (ll. 16-20).

(c) No existing assessments shall be lowered, save in cases of special need (ll. 20-22).

(d) Two copies of this decree and of the resulting assessment shall be published at Athens (ll. 22-6).

(e) In future, re-assessments shall be announced before the Great Panathenaea and carried out at the time of that

festival; any one who seeks to prevent this quadriennial re-assessment shall lose his civic rights and his property (ll. 26-33). [This clause marks 'an attempt on the part of the authors of the decree to return to the long-established custom of regular assessments in Panathenaic years', which was followed, with one possible exception (443-2), from 454-3 down to 430-29 B.C., but was abandoned during the early years of the Peloponnesian War. See further Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 247 ff., 292 ff., *A.F.D.* 13 ff.]

(f) Penalties shall be imposed on officials who fail to fulfil their duty in connexion with the present re-assessment (ll. 33-40).

(g) The *τάκται* shall prescribe the itineraries of the *κήρυκες*, who shall make a proclamation as determined by the *δῆμος* (ll. 40-4).

(h) The *στρατηγοί* shall take measures for the payment of the tribute imposed, and shall state periodically during the continuance of the war the sum required from this source (ll. 44-50).

(i) The *κήρυκες* shall receive their pay from the *κωλακρέται* (ll. 50, 51).

III. Ll. 51-4. Rider, directing the prytanes and the Secretary of the Council to bring increased assessments before the court first.

IV. Ll. 54-8. Second decree of Thudippus, imposing religious obligations upon all the assessed cities (cf. Nos. 29, ll. 1-7, 44, ll. 11-13).

V. Ll. 58-60. Heading of the new assessment-list.

The decrees are followed, after one blank line, by the new assessment-list, arranged in four columns. The following island list, engraved on the contiguous fragments *i*, *n*, *q*, *r*, *s*, certainly belongs to 425-4, for *i* and *n* contain parts of the decree also.

Col. I			
Νησιωτικὸς φόρος[ς]		ΑΠ	Ἀνδρ[ιοι]
ΑΑΑ Πάρι[οι]		65 ΑΠ	Μήλιοι[ι]
ΑΠ Νάχσο[ιοι]		ΠΤΤΤΤ	Σίφνιοι[ι]
		ΑΠ	Ἐρετρι[ῆς]

	Π	Θηραῖ[οι]			Χαλκιδέων
	Δ	Κεῖ[οι]	85	X	Ἀναφαῖοι
70	Π	Κάρυσ[τιοι]			Κερία Δ
	Δ	Χαλκιδ[δῆς]		XX	Φολέγανδρος
	ΠΤ	Κύθν[ιοι]		HHH	Βέλιβια
	Δ	Τήν[ι]ο[ι]		X	Κίμωνος
	ΤΤ	Στ[υ]ρῆς	90	X	Σικωνῆται
75	--	Μ[υ]κόνι[οι]		H	Ποσίδειον
	--	[Σ]ερίφιο[ι]			ἐν Εὐβοίαι
	--	Ἰῆται		TXX	Διά[κρ]ιοι
	--	Διῆς			ἐν Ε[ὐβ]οία[ι]
	T	Ἀθηνῆται	95	TTTT	[Ὶ]Ηφ[αισ]τ[ι]ῆς
80	T	Σύριοι			[Ὶ]ο[ι] ἐλ Λήμνωι
	XX	Γρυγχῆς		--	[Μυρινᾶιοι]
	X	Ῥηναιῆς		--	[Ὶ]μβριοι
	XX	Διακρῆς ἀπ[δ]			

Meritt and West think that the Island list ended here and that the next two lines contained the formula *Νησιωτικῶν φόρον | κεφάλαιον* — — — —; Kolbe, with less probability, adds four further names: *Κορήσιοι*, *Ἐστιαῖς*, *Ἀμόργιοι* and *Σάμιοι* (*Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 190).

Equally certainly the following names in the Thracian list belong to the head of col. IV, for fragment *p*, on which they occur, also contains the right-hand portions of ll. 43–59 of the decrees.

--	[Σ]τρεφσαῖο[ι]
100 --	[Π]ερες ἐ[μ]
	[Περ]γάμω[ι]
--	.... αγ --

Further, West is inclined to assign to col. II of the same assessment fragment *w'* and *I.G.* i<sup>1</sup>. 272*g* with a contiguous fragment (containing the quotas), which belong to the Ionic list.

	<i>w'</i> ( <i>I.G.</i> i <sup>2</sup> . 64. 70–8)		--	[Οἰναῖ]οι
--	..... ῆ[ς]			[ἐν Ἰκάρ]ωι
--	..... οἰ		--	..... σῆς
105 --	..... ῆς		--	..... ιοι

110	--	[Μυριν]αῖοι	Τ	[Ε]ρωῆς
		[παρὰ Κῦ]μην	Ϟ	[Υρ]ωμῆς
			ΤΤ	[Χα]λκήτορ[ες]
272	g	(I.G. i <sup>2</sup> . 63. 100-20)	XX	[Λη]φσιμαν[δῆς]
--	--	-----	125 XX	[Κοδα]πῆς
--	--	Π-----	XX	[Χαλκ]εât[αι]
--	--	Τηλ[άνδριοι]	ΤΤ	[Χίω]ι Κἀρε[ς]
115	--	[Π]τελ[εούσιοι]	ΧΧ	[Κυρ]βισσὸ[ς]
--	--	[Κ]αρν[ανδῆς]	.	[Νότι]ον
Τ		[Ι]δυμ[ῆς]	130 ΧΧ	..... ῆς
		.. λλ --	XX	-----
ΤΤ		[ὦ]ν Σα[-- ἄρχει]	ΧΧ	-----
120	Δ	[Κ]άννι[οι]	ΧΧ	-----

Less certain is the attribution to the same document of two fragments (*z* and *z'*), both belonging to col. III (with some numerals from col. IV) and relating to the Hellespontine area.

*z* (I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 63. 122-32)

--	--	Νεοπολίται	
135	--	παρὰ Χερρόνη[σον]	
--	--	Λιμναῖοι	
--	--	Τυρόδιζα	Χ
--	--	Δαρεῖον παρὰ	Δ
		. τῇμ Μυσίαν	Δ
140	--	. ἔρεια παρὰ	Δ
	--	[Βρύ]λλειον	Τ
--	--	[Σομβ]ία	Χ
--	--	[Ἀρταίου] τείχος	Τ
	--	[ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥ]ύνδακι	ΧΧ
145	--	[Ὅτληνοί ?]	ΧΧΧ

*z'* (I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 63. 133-65)

--	--	Μυσ[οὶ]οὶ ἐν Προπον[-	
	--	τ[ὶ]δεi Χ[ερρονήσῳ]ι (?)	
--	--	[Παρι]ανο[ί]	
--	--	[Δαρδ]ανῆς	
150	--	[Χερρ]ονησιῖται	

		[ἀπ' Ἀγ]οράς	
- -		[Δασκ]ύλε(ιον)	
- -		[Πολι]χνῖται	
- -		[Βρυλ]λειανοί	
155	- -	[Ἐλαι]ούσιοι	
		[ἐν Χε]ρρονήσῳ	
- -		[Βέσβ]ικος	
- -		[Νεαν]δρειῆς	
- -		[Ἄρτα]κηνοί	Τ
160	- -	[Ἄλω]ποκοννήσιοι	
- -		[Μαδύ]τιοι	XXX
- -		[Λαμ]πωνειῆς	
- -		[Ἄστ]υρα Τρω[ῖ]κά	Τ
- -		[Κολω]νής	rasura
165	- -	[Περκ]ώσιο[ι]	XXX
- -		[Κιαν]οί	Τ
- -		[Παιση]νοί	
- -		[Βερύσ]ιο[ι]	
		[ῥυπὸ τ]ῆς [*Ι]δ[η]	
170	- -	[Σιγει]ῆς	
- -		[Σίστι]οι	
- -		[Διδυμ]οτε[ι]χίται	
- -		[Καλλι]πολίται	
- -		[Πρίαπ]ος	
175		[παρὰ Π]ᾶριο[ν]	
- -		[Κεβρή]νιοι	
- -		[Παλαι]περκ[ώσιοι]	
- -		[Ἀλονήσ]ιο[ι]	

To the same column we may tentatively assign the small but important fragment *I.G.* i<sup>1</sup>. 543, though this and *z* have certain epigraphical peculiarities in common which distinguish them from the other fragments.

[Ἑλλησποντίου φόρου]  
 180 κεφά[λαιον]  
 ΗΗΗΠ[ΑΑΑΑΑΑΑΑΑΑΑΑ]  
 Ἀκτα[ῖαι πόλεις]  
 ΤΤ[ΤΤ Ἀντανδρος]

The restoration is based on a very similar passage in another assessment (p. 160). The *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* (which recur below in the second assessment list, ll. 1-8, and in the third assessment-list, col. iii, ll. 44-60) lay on or near the coast of the Troad. With the exception of the *Ὀρανιῆται*, they appear in none of the extant quota-lists, and they seem to have been added to the Athenian Empire only as a result of the Mytilenean revolt (Thuc. iv. 52).

Finally, to col. IV, at the head of which stands *p* (p. 153), we may also give *z'''*, an unpublished fragment (which I call *z<sup>6</sup>*) discovered by Mr. A. M. Woodward, and *z''''*. The first of these is from the Thracian list, the total assessment of which may be contained in the opening lines of *z<sup>6</sup>*, which then proceeds to give a list of Pontic cities, continued in *z''''*.

*z'''* (I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 63. 177-89)

	--	----
185	--	Σ ----
	--	Ὅ ----
	--	Σπ[αρτώλιοι]
	--	Ἀφυ[ταῖοι]
	--	Πεπ[αρήθιοι]
190	--	Ἀκάν[θιοι]
	--	Αἰν[εῖται]
	--	Κοσσ[αῖοι]
	--	Πολι[χνῖται]
		παρὰ Σ[τῶλον]
195	--	[Θ]ύσσι[οι]
	--	[Δι]ῆς
	--	... ι --

*z<sup>6</sup>*

		[Θραικίον φόρον?]
		[κεφάλαιο]ν : ΗΗΗΗΔ - -
200		[Πόλεις 'αι] ἐκ τοῦ Εὐ[χσείνου]
	--	[Ἡρ]ακλειῶτα[ι]
	--	[Ἀπολ]λωνία
	--	[Φάσις?] ναc.

		z''' (I.G. i <sup>2</sup> . 63. 195-211)
	T	-----
205	TT	-----
	TT	-----
	TT	-----
	T	-----
	T	-----
210	T	T-----
	TT	M-----
	T	'O[λβία ?]
	TT	Tύ[ρας]
	T	Tα[μυράκη]
215	. XX	Kα[ρκώνη]
	. XX	Kιμ[μερ - -]
	. XX	Nικ[ωνία]
	. . X	Πατ[ρα - -]
	- -	Kερ[ασοῦς]
220	- -	Δα[νδάκη]

The restorations of ll. 212-20 are very uncertain.

I omit here two small fragments, z''' and A. J. Arch. xxx. 149, on which no names survive. Across the foot of the stele ran a single line giving the sum-total of the re-assessment; of this four fragments are extant (phot. in *Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 181; cf. *Sitzb. Berl.* 1930, 337):

221 [Κεφάλαιον τοῦ χροῦπαντος: . ιιιιιιιιιι<sup>π</sup>Δ - - -

The stonemason has engraved <sup>π</sup> in place of <sup>π</sup>.

## SECOND ASSESSMENT-LIST

Fragments t-x (of which t, u, v are contiguous, as are also w, x) apparently come from a second assessment list, tentatively assigned by West to the Panathenaic year 422-1, and contain names belonging to the Actaeon and Ionic districts. Here also, unfortunately, most of the numerals have perished.

t, u, v (I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 64. 2-47)

- -	[Λά]ρ[ισα ?]		- -	[Θ]ύμ[β]ρα]
- -	[Οφ]ρ[ύνειον ?]		- -	[Α]δραμ[ύτιον]

5	--	[Π]ροσε[λήνη]	--	Χερρ[ονήσιοι]
--	--	Ὀρανι[ήτα]ι	--	Λεβέ[διοι]
		Ταύτησ[ι σ]ύμπ[ας ὁ]	--	Φωκα[ίης]
		φόρος ἐτάχθη --	--	Ἰδυμ[ῆς]
--	--	Λίνδιοι	30	Τύμν[ιοι ?]
10	--	Μιλήσιοι Λέρ[ος]	--	Κυλλ[άνδιοι]
--	--	Τειχιούσσα	--	Ἀστν[παλαιῆς]
--	--	Καμρῆς	--	Ἀλι[καρνάσσιοι]
--	--	Κυμαῖοι	--	Πολ[ιχνῖται]
--	--	Ἐφέσιοι	35	Ἐρυ[θραίων]
15	--	Ἐρυθραῖοι	--	Κλα[ζομένιοι]
--	--	Τήμιοι	--	Καλ[ύδνιοι]
--	--	Ἰηλύσιοι	--	Πρ[ιανῆς]
--	--	Φασηλίται	--	Πλαγ[ασῆς]
--	--	[Τ]ελεμήσσιοι[ι]	40	Πυγελ[ῆς]
20	--	[Κλ]αυνδῆς	--	Ληρισ[αῖοι]
--	--	[Κῶ]ιοι	--	Μυήσσο[ιοι]
--	--	[Μαιά]νδριοι	--	Τερμ[ερός]
--	--	Κνί[δ]ι[ο]ι	[TTTT]Τ	Κιν[δυῆς ὠν]
--	--	Κολο[φώνι]οι	45	ἄρ[χει -- -]
25	--	Ἀιρ[αῖοι]	[T]TTTT	-----

The opening lines, restored in *I.G.* as a lengthy rubric, form, it would seem, the close of a list of Actaeon cities (cf. p. 155, l. 182 f., p. 160, col. iii, ll. 44 ff.); the restoration is assisted by, and in turn assists, that of the corresponding list in the 'third assessment'. Προσελήνη (l. 5) appears to be a shortened form of Πορδοσελήνη. The record of the total Actaeon assessment (ll. 7, 8) is followed by the Ionic list without a special title. For Τύμνιοι (l. 30) we may perhaps read Τύμν[ης] (*S.E.G.* v. 14. i. 89). In l. 39 I write Πλαγ[ασῆς] in place of the Πλαδ[ασῆς] of *I.G.*

*x, w* (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 63. 100-102, 170-176 + 64. 48-69 + p. 302)

--	-----	TTTT	-----
--	[Ἐτεοκαρ]πάθιοι	TTT	----
--	..... s	Π	-----
50	..... i	TT	-----
--	-----	TT	----
--	-----	TXXX	O ----
--	-----	X	K ----
--	A ----	Π	Π ----



55	--	Μι ---	--	A ---
	X	Καρνα[νδῆς]		
	Π	Βρυκούντιοι		
	X	Ταρβανῆς		
	X	Μύνδιοι		
60		παρὰ Τέρμερα		
	ΠΤ	Ἑδριῆς Ὑμησσης		
		Κυρωμῆς		
	ΤΤ	Τῆλος		
	ΤΤ	Κελένδερις		
65	XXXX	Ἰτύρα		
	XXX	Σύμη		
	XXX	Πιδασῆς		
	XX	Ὑδαιῆς		
	Η	Ἑλαιούσιοι		
70		Ἐρυθραίων		
	--	. ερα παρὰ	ΠΔΔ	.
		. . θυμέας	ΠΔ	
	--	. . . . s	ΔΔΤ	
	--	[Ἀσπεν]δος	Π	
75		[ἐν Παμφ]υλίας	ΔΠ	
	--	-----	ΔΔ	
	--	. . . . . ατος	ΔΠ	
	--	. . . . . ι?		

## THIRD ASSESSMENT-LIST

Lastly, we possess three contiguous fragments (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 64. 80-132; phot. in *Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 177, facs. *ibid.* Plate II) of yet a third assessment, containing portions of the Hellenistic (iii. 33-43), Actaeon (iii. 44-60) and Thracian lists (iv. 42-72). They are tentatively located by West in the third and fourth columns of the document of which they form a part.

## Col. III

c. 32 lines lost

XXXX	Σομβ[ία]
X	Ἀπταίου [τεῖχος ἐπὶ τῷ]
35	Ῥύνδακι

	XX	Ὅτληνοί
	H	Πυθοπολίτα[ι]
	T	Μητρόπολις
		παρὰ Πρίαπον
40	TT	Βισάνθη
	[']	Ελλησποντίου φόρ[ου]
	[κ]	εφάλαιον
	[H H] [P P P P P P P P P P]	ΗΗΗΗ
	[']	Ακταῖαι πόλεις
45	[T T] TT	Ἄνταν[δ]ρο[s]
	--	ῥοίτειον
	--	νῆσος Πορδοσελήνη
	--	[Ἄμαχ]σιτός
	--	[Λάρι]σα
50	--	[Ἀχίλλ]ειον
	--	[Ἰλιον ?]
	--	[Χρύση ?]
	--	[Ὀφρύνε]ιον
	--	[Θύμβρα ?]
55	--	-----
	--	[Ὀρανιῆται ?]
	--	[Ἀδραμύττιον ?]
	--	-----
	--	-----
60		[Ἀκταίου φόρου κεφάλαιον] ♀

## Col. IV

c. 41 lines lost

	XX -	-----
	XXX	-----
	H	Κλ[εωναί]
45	X	Ὅθώρ[ιοι]
	[P	Ἰστασο[s]
	[P	Αἰολίτα[ι]
	[P	Ζέρεια
	[P	Φαρβήλιοι
50	[P	Σέρμη

	X	Ἡράκλειον
	Δ	Σίγγιοι
	Δ	Μηκυβερναῖοι
	Δ	Γαλαῖοι
55	T	Τράϊλος
	X	Βορμίσκος
	TT	Ζώνη παρὰ Σέρρειον
	T	Δρυς παρὰ Σέρρειον
60		
	XXX	Σάλη
	X	Ποσίδειον
	--	Ἀκρόθωιοι οἱ ἐν Ἀθωι
65	--	Πλεύμη
	--	Θέστωρος
	--	. ἰωρος
	--	Σίνος
	--	[Τριπ]οαί
70	--	-----
	--	[Κίθα]ς
	--	[Κροσσί]δος

The re-assessment lists are unhappily too mutilated to lead to any precise or positive results. West estimates that in the list of 425-4 each column contained about 95 lines, and that these were divided among the districts somewhat as follows:

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV
Islands 40	Ionian 85	Hellespont 60	Thrace 70
Ionian 55	Hellespont 10	Acte 18	Pontus 25
		Thrace 17	

Calculating on this basis and assuming that the island-list is typical of the rest, we should arrive at the following estimate of the number of assessed states: Islands, 32; Ionian, 112; Hellespont, 56; Acte 14 or 15; Thrace, 70; Pontus, 20:

total, 304 or 305. The difference between these figures and those given above (p. 56) for 433-2 is very striking, and is due in part to the creation of the Actaeon and Pontic districts, but still more to the application of a policy of ἀπόταξις, breaking up φόρος-groups (συντέλεια) and assessing their members individually and directly. The total sum so assessed was recorded in l. 221, but the figure is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end. At the beginning only one numeral is lost and this must have been either 17 or 7; at the end there is room on the stone for the restoration of any sum short of 40 talents. Thus the sum-total amounted either to 1,460-1,500 or to 960-1,000 talents. The former alternative, somewhat hesitatingly accepted by Beloch (*G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1. 330; cf. 2. 344) and H. Swoboda (Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1345, note 2), has recently found a vigorous champion in W. Kolbe (*Sitzb. Berl.* 1930, 333 ff.), but the latter is preferred (rightly, in my judgement) by the great majority of scholars, including West, who tries to show that the amount was determined mainly by a desire to balance the Athenian budget without further recourse either to the εἰσφορά or to the reserve funds, and that for this purpose a sum of 960 talents was ample (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 217 ff.).

This startling increase in the assessment of the Empire, usually associated with Cleon's name (e.g. Arist. *Eq.* 313, 326, 839 f.) and certainly consistent with his general policy, Thucydides passes over in silence. Andocides, speaking in 390, says that διὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήμην (the Peace of Nicias) . . . φόρος προσήει κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλέον ἢ διακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα (iii. 9), and Aeschines repeats the statement almost *verbatim* (ii. 175). According to a pseudo-Andocidean speech (c. *Alcib.* 11), Alcibiades αἶρεθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέκατος αὐτὸς μάλιστα διπλάσιον αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν φόρον) ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποίησεν, and Plutarch speaks of the Aristidean tribute as being 'soon doubled and then again trebled' and says that, after Pericles' death, ἐπιτείνοντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων τάλαντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον (*Arist.* 24). Kolbe refers these literary statements to the increased demands of 425-4 and regards them as supporting

the restoration 1460 in l. 221; West, however, holds (cf. especially *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. 60 ff.) that in 421 the assessment of the Empire was markedly lowered, perhaps to about 600 talents (*A. J. Arch.* xxix. 135 ff.), and that in 417, when Alcibiades was at the height of his influence, it was increased to a sum between 1,200 and 1,300 talents. According to this view, Alcibiades' duplication of the tribute was a doubling of the assessment of 421, while Plutarch's 'doubled and then again trebled' alludes to the assessments of 425 and 417 respectively.

Kolbe, again, assigns all the extant fragments of reassessment-lists to 425-4, and thinks that we have in them portions of the two stelae whose erection was ordered by the decree of Thudippus (l. 24). But, apart from the fact that all the fragments were found on the Acropolis although one stele was to be set up in the *βουλευτήριον*, West has shown (*Metr. Mus. Stud.* iii. 179 ff.) the serious difficulties in which this hypothesis involves us, and has shown that the extant fragments probably belong to three, or possibly four, lists, as is indicated by differences of arrangement and script and by the repetition of place-names: e.g. the *Ἰδρυήs* of the first list (l. 117) recur in fragments *t, u, v*, l. 29 (p. 158). The fragments of the 'third assessment' he, in common with the majority of scholars, assigns to 421 B.C.

## 67

### Athenian Decree enforcing Uniformity of Money, Weights, and Measures: about 423 B.C.

(A) Fragment of white marble stele copied at Smyrna by A. Baumeister (*Monatsb. Berl.* 1855, 197), now lost. (B) Fragment of white marble stele at Siphnos. (C) Two fragments of a stele of local limestone found at Syme by N. D. Chaviaras.

Ionic writing. A showed the 'beautiful simple traits of the Attic period', but B is carelessly engraved. Phot. of C in 'Apχ.' Ep. 1922, 39.

A and B were published by von Hiller, with restorations due largely to Wilhelm (cf. *Jahresh.* i. Beiblatt, 43), in *I.G.* xii (5). 480, *S.I.G.* 87, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 295, and by Michel, 1439: cf. R. Weil, *Z. Num.* xxv. 52 ff., xxviii. 351 ff., E. Cavaignac, *Études*, 186 f., P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 150 ff. (= *Hist. of Anc. Coinage*, 222 ff.). C was published by N. D. Chaviaras, 'Apχ.' Ep. 1922, 39 ff., identified and restored by Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1924, 157 ff. and by von

Hiller, 'Arch. Eph. 1923, 116 f. (with restorations by G. Klaffenbach and U. von Wilamowitz) and *Z. Num.* xxxv. 217 ff.

-- σει ---- | -- ηδαν --- | -- ατωι Ζ[--- τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐλό-  
μεν]ον κήρυκα[ς ἀγγέλλοντας τὰ νῦν ἐψηφισμένα τῶι δῆμωι πέμψαι  
5 ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις], || ἕνα μὲν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν, ἕνα δὲ ἐπὶ Νήσους, ἕνα δὲ ἐπὶ  
Ἑλλάσποντον, ἕνα δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπ[ὶ] Θράκης, τοῦ[ς] δὲ κήρυκας ἐλέσθαι  
αὐτίκα μάλα τὸν δῆμον· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀ[πο]στειλάντων αὐτοὺς  
ὥς τάχιστα, εἰ δὲ μή, εὐθυνόσθω μυρία[ισι] δραχμήσι. Καταθ[ε]ῖναι  
δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τ[ὸ]δε τοὺς ἀ[ρχ]οντα[ς] τ[οῦ]ς ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσιν ἀνα-  
γράφαντας ἐν στή[λ]ῃ λιθίνῃ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ[δε] ἐκάστης τῆς πό[λ]εως  
10 καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστ[ά]τας ἔμπροσθεν || τοῦ ἀργυροκόπιον· ταῦτα δὲ ἐπ[ι]-  
τελέσαι Ἀθηναίους, ἐ[ὰ]ν μὴ αὐτοὶ βούλωνται· δε[κ]θῆναι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν  
κήρυκα τὸν ἰόντ[α] ὅσα κελεύουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. Προσγράψαι δὲ  
πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον τὸν τῆς βουλῆς τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς [βουλῆς  
τ]αδὶ: "Ἐάν τις κόπτη νόμισ[μα] ἀργυρίου ἐν τῇσι πό[λ]εσι καὶ  
15 μὴ χρῆται νομ[ί]σμασιν τοῖς Ἀ[θη]ναίων ἢ σταθμοῖς ἢ μέτ[ρ]οις,  
ἀλλὰ ξενικοῖς | νομ[ί]σμασιν καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς, [τὴν] | τιμωρίαν  
εἶναι κατὰ τὸ πρότε[ρον] ψήφισμα, ὃ | Κλέαρχ[ος] εἶπεν." Τοὺς δὲ  
ἰδιώτας ἀποδοῦναι τὸ | ξενικὸν ἀργύριον ἕκαστον ὅ[τε]ταμ βούληται, ||  
20 τὴν δὲ πό[λ]ιν καταλλάττειν ἀπογραφ[ά]ντων δὲ | τὰ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστοι  
καὶ καταβαλόντων ἐς τὸ | ἀργυροκόπιον, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάτ[αι] παρα-  
δεξάμενοι ἐς λευκώματα ἀναγράφαντες καταθέν[των] ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ  
25 ἀργυροκόπιον σκοπεῖν τῶι || βου[λο]μένωι, ἀναγράφαντες χωρὶς μὲν  
τὸ ξ[ε]νικόν, χω[ρ]ὶς δὲ τὸ ἡμεδαπὸν ἀργύριον | --

On the smaller fragment of *C* only a few letters survive: [- - π]ολε[- -]  
-- ἀρ]χοντε[ς] -- | -- Ἑ]λλήνων --.

The above text marks as extant all letters found in any of the three copies: *A* contains parts of ll. 8-26, *B* of ll. 7-17, *C* of ll. 1-13. The division of the lines here given is based for ll. 1-13 on *C*, for ll. 14 ff. on *B*. I follow in the main Klaffenbach's restoration of ll. 1-13. In l. 7 I write *ὥς τάχιστα* for his . . ἡμερῶν (cf. No. 74, l. 23, 91, l. 10, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 106. 18): Wilhelm suggests [οὗ ἂν ἕκαστοι ἰσών· ἐάν δὲ μή, εὐθυνόσθω μυρία[ς] δραχμαῖς]. From Wilamowitz I take ἐπ[ι]τελέσαι in l. 10 for the ἐπ[ι]τελεῖν of other editors, and καὶ for ἢ in l. 14. Wilhelm questions the reading of the extant letters of *C* in ll. 12, 13. In ll. 12-13 Chaviaras reads Ἑλλ[λ]αδ[δ]ι:, Klaffenbach [βουλῆς ν.ν.]ι [καὶ ἐάν, Wilamowitz τ[τ]αδ[δ]ι: . As l: seems clear on the stone, I write, with some diffidence, [τ]αδὶ: (for epideictic: see *G.A.I.* 147, 155). In l. 16 I follow *A*: *B* has σ[ταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις κτλ.

The first surviving part of this decree provides for the prompt publication of its contents throughout the Empire by

means of heralds (ll. 3-7) and of engraved copies thereof exhibited in each of the cities concerned (ll. 7-11). The restoration of ll. 3 ff. is based on Nos. 66, ll. 4 ff., 74, ll. 21 ff., that of l. 6 f. on *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 106. 16 ff. For ἐὶθι|νόσθω (l. 7) we should expect ἐὶθι|νόσθων; the engraver may have accidentally omitted the final ν, or we may understand ἐκαστος αὐτῶν as the subject of the verb, or perhaps the form here used is an alternative form of the plural (cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 41. 6 and note). In l. 8 ἀρχοντας is used in its general sense of 'magistrates' and not as a specific title; the ἐπιστάται are the managers of the mint at Athens.

The decree goes on to add to the oath taken by the Athenian Council (cf. *S.I.G.* 172. 14) a clause imposing a penalty, in accordance with a previous decree moved by Clearchus (possibly the same who served as Secretary of Council in 408-7, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 121), on anyone guilty of coining silver in the cities of the Empire or of failing to use Attic coins, weights or measures (ll. 11-18).

The decree then deals with the method by which foreign coins in the possession of private persons are to be withdrawn from circulation and their owners equitably compensated (ll. 18-26).

In Aristophanes' *Aves*, 1040 f. (produced early in 414 B.C.) the Ψηφισματοπώλης offers for sale 'new laws', one of which is χρήσθαι Νεφελοκοκκυγῆς τοῖσδε τοῖς (τοῖς αὐτοῖς conj. Cobet) μέτροισι καὶ σταθμοῖσι καὶ ψηφίσμασι (νομίσμασι conj. Bergk) καθάπερ Ὀλοφύξιοι. Hence Wilamowitz inferred the existence of an Athenian law enforcing on the allies uniformity of coinage, weights, and measures (*Aus Kydathen*, 30, *Reden und Vorträge*<sup>3</sup>, 52). The present document confirms that inference, but its date remains doubtful. Weil, followed by P. Gardner, thought that the earlier decree moved by Clearchus (l. 18) was passed 'about the time when the Sicilian expedition sailed, or a little earlier', and that the decree before us followed shortly after its failure. But the form τῇσι (l. 13) is held to indicate a date prior to 420 (*G.A.I.* 120 f.) and the latest view of von Hiller and Klaffenbach places Clearchus' decree in the opening years of the

Peloponnesian War and the extant measure towards the close of Cleon's life.

All scholars hitherto have held that Clearchus' decree aimed at establishing uniformity of currency, weights, and measures throughout the Empire, but this does not seem to be a necessary inference from ll. 13-18. The penalty therein prescribed may have been for some other offence, and we may have here an example of that 'assimilation' which Glotz has shown to be characteristic of Greek criminal law (*C.R.A.I.* 1906, 513 ff.).

For the numismatic evidence relating to the Athenian Empire see Weil and P. Gardner, *loc. cit.*

## 68

**Alliance of Athens and certain Bottiaeian Cities: 422 B.C.**

Six fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*: the aspirate is occasionally omitted. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 90+ Cf. B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 29 ff. (*S.E.G.* iii. 16).

[- - - τὰς τὰ]χσεις εἶν[αι - 34 -]ντες ὁ[ι] εἰ [- 27 - διδόντ]ω[ν]  
 5 δὲ τὰς δι[κας - 30 - ||.] ἐπειδὴν [- 33 - |] ἐτέραι πα[ - 32 - ']|εκάτερον  
 ε - 33 -|ος. Τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ὁμόσαι ἑκατέρους, Ἀθηναίων μὲν  
 10 τὴν] | βουλὴν καὶ τ[οὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, Βοττιαί]ων  
 δὲ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς] καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀρ[χ]οντας  
 τοὺς ἐ[ν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Βοτ]τιαί[ων] ὁ δὲ ὅρκ[ος] ἔστω Ἀθηναί[οις  
 ὅδε· ἀμυνῶ τοῖς Βοττιαίοις τοῖς] | χουντιθεμένοις τὴν χσμμαχίαν,  
 καὶ τὴν χσμμαχίαν] πιστῶς καὶ ἀδόλως φυλάχσω Βοττιαίοις  
 15 προ[θυμούμε]ν[ος] κατὰ τὰ χ[συγκείμενα, καὶ οὐ μνη]σικακήσω τῶ[ν  
 παρ]οιχομένων ἕνεκα. Βοττιαῖοι δὲ ὅμν[υόντων] κατὰ τὰδε] | φίλοι  
 ἐσόμε[θα] Ἀθηναίοις καὶ χσύμ[μαχοι] πιστῶ[ς] κα[ὶ] | ἀδόλως καὶ τ[οὺς  
 αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθ]ροὺς νομιοῦμε[ν] ὅσ[περ] ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ  
 20 οὐκ ὤφελήσω τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων οὔτε χρ[ήματα] παρέχων  
 οὔτε δυνάμει οὐδεμίᾳ, οἷδὲ μνησικακήσω τῶν παροιχομένων] ἕνεκα.  
 Τὰς δὲ χσυνθήκας τὰ[σδε] καὶ τὸν ὅρκον καταθεῖναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν  
 ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἀναγράφοντας ἐστήληι λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ ὀν[όματα] τῶν  
 25 [πόλεων] ἐγγράφοντας τῶν χουντιθεμένων || τὴν φιλα[ν] καὶ τὴν  
 χσμμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπιγράψαι ἐν τῇ] στήλῃ τοῦ ἀρχοντος τὸ  
 ὄνομα, ἐφ' οὗ] ἐγένοντο αἱ χσ[υν]θ[ῆ]και Βοττιαῖοι δ' ἐν στήλαις



λιθί]ναις ἀναγράφ[σαντ]ες καταθέντων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς (τοῖς) κ[α]τὰ  
 πόλεις ἐπιγράφσ[αντες] ἐν ταῖς στήλαις τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰ δνόμα[τα]  
 30 τῶν Β[ο]ττιαίων, ἐφ' [ὧν ἐγένοντο αἱ ἕσυνθηκ[α]ι] τοὺς δὲ [ἄρκους]  
 οἷτινες λή[φ]σονται παρὰ Βοττιαίων ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆ[μ]ον πέντε  
 ἄνδρας αἰτίκα μάλα ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων. Τού[τ]ς δὲ δμήρους, [τοὺς  
 35 δ] [ἐ] δν[ό]ματα κ - 33 - | ἀποδ - 33 - | ν [οι σ]τρατ[η]γοί - 29 - ]  
 40 ἐπειδὰ[ν] τοῦ[τ]ς ὁρ[κους] - 26 - | ον ἀποδῶ[σι] Βοττιαί[οις] - 23 - | || μὴ  
 δόχσ[η]ι, ἀποδοῦναι - 26 - | | ὅτι ἀποκρίνονται α[ - 25 - ο] ἢ δὲ [γ]νώμας  
 χωρὶς κα - 26 - | ον καθὰ παραινοῦσι Β[ο]ττιαῖοι - 18 - | | Αἰδε  
 45 πόλει[ς] εἰσίν vacat || Καλίνδοι[α, - - -] | Τριπο[αί, - - -] | Κημακαί,  
 - - | three more lines have perished.

The text here given is that of *I.G.* In l. 28 the engraver may have written ἐν ἱεροῖς τοῖς κ[α]τά or ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κ[α]τά. In ll. 33-4 I suggest [τοὺς ἐχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποδοῦναι Βοττιαί[οις] v] or, less probably, [τοὺς ἐχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποδοῦναι Βοττιαί[οις]. In ll. 8, 39, 48 the first letter may be ο, ου, or ω.

The Bottiaeans (for whom see *R.E.* iii. 794 f., Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 794) were members of the Athenian Empire (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 199. 19), but revolted in the spring of 432, at the instigation of Perdiccas and in conjunction with the Potidaeans and Olynthians (Thuc. i. 57, 58). In 422 some of their cities entered into alliance with the Athenians under the terms of this decree. Of their names, added in a schedule (l. 44 ff.), only three are preserved—Calindoea (cf. Ptol. iii. 12. 33), Tripoeae (cf. No. 71, iii, l. 8; p. 161, l. 69), and Cemacae (or Camacae, No. 71, iii, l. 11). Spartolus, their principal city (cf. Thuc. ii. 79), apparently did not join in this convention, for by the Peace of Nicias, concluded in spring, 421 B.C., it is stipulated that the Athenians may bring Spartolus into alliance by persuasion, but not by force (Thuc. v. 18. 5).

I accept the date 422, proposed by Busolt (*G.G.* iii. 592, 1171) and confirmed by Meritt (*loc. cit.*), in preference to 417-6, advocated by E. Meyer (*G. A.* iv. 494 ff.) and Beloch (*G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. l. 352, note 5).

The extant portion of the decree deals with (a) assessments (presumably of tribute) and law-suits (ll. 1-8), (b) the oaths to be exchanged by the contracting states (ll. 8-21), (c) the publication of the treaty (ll. 21-30), (d) the appointment of

commissioners for oaths and the restoration (?) of hostages (Il. 30-34), (e) a rider, added on the motion of Eucrates, the sense of which is lost (Il. 35-43).

## 69

## Inventory of Treasures in the 'Parthenon': 422-1 B.C.

On a slab of marble, found on the Acropolis; now lost, for the statement (C.I.G. 139) that it is in the British Museum is mistaken.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 280+ Böckh, *Staatshaush.* ii. 142 ff.; Roberts-Gardner, 97; Bleckmann, 21 (I).

Θεοί. [Ἀθ]ηναία. Τύχη]. |

Τάδε παρέδοσαν ἅι τέτταρες ἀρχαί, ἅλ' ἐδίδοσαν τ[ὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐ]ς Π[αναθήναια, τοῖς τ]αμῖασι, ὅις Πρεσβίας Σημ[ί]ου Φη[γ]αίεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσ· [οἱ δὲ ταμίαι, ὅις Πρεσ]βίας Ση[μ]ίου Φηγαιεὺς | ἐγραμμάτευσ, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμῖασι, ὅις Νικέας  
5 Εὐ[θυ]κλέους Ἀλιμούσιος ἐ]γραμμά[τευσ, Εὐφ[ή]μωι || Κολλυτεῖ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶν·

(1) στέφανος χρ[ου]σοῦς, σταθμὸν τοῦ[του]  $\Gamma \Delta$

(2) φιάλα[ι χρυσαῖ]  $\Gamma$ , στ[αθμὸν τούτων] :  $\Gamma \text{HH} \Gamma \Delta \Delta \Delta \text{H} :$

(3) χρυσίον ἄσημον, σταθμὸν τούτου :  $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} :$

(4) καρχήσιον χρ[υ]σοῦν : τὸμ πυθ[μ[έ]να ὑπ[άρ]χον] (γυ)ρον : ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἐ(λ)αι(ε)ῖ, σταθμὸν τούτου :  $\text{H} \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma \text{H} \text{H} :$

(5) ἡλὼ δ[ύ]ο ὑπαργύρω καταχρ[ύ]σω, σταθμὸν τούτου :  $\text{H} \Gamma \Delta \Delta \Delta \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} :$

(6) πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατὰ χρυσον, σταθμὸν τούτου :  $\text{H} \Delta \Gamma \text{H} :$

(7) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ :  $\text{H} \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma \text{H} \text{H} :$  κέρας ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων :  $\text{T} \text{T} \text{X} \text{X} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \Gamma \text{H} :$

Ἀριθμὸν τ[άδε]·

(8) ἀκινάκαι περ[ί]χρυσοι :  $\Gamma \text{H} :$  ||

10 (9) λήϊον περ[ί]χρυσον, στάχυες :  $\Delta \text{H} :$  |

(10) κ[α]νὼ ὑποχρύλω καταχρύσω :  $\text{H} \text{H} :$

(11) θυμιατήριον ὑπόχρυσον κατὰ χρυσον :  $\text{H} :$  |

(12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλης κατὰ χρυσος :  $\text{H} :$  |

(13) κοίτη ὑπόχρυσ[ος] κατὰ χρυσ[ος] :  $\text{H} :$  |

(14) Γοργόνειον, κάμπη ἐπ[ί]χρυσα

(15) ἱππ[ος], γρύψ : γρυπὸς προτομή, γρύψ : λέοντος κεφαλὴ, ὄρμος ἀν[θέμων, δράκων] ἐπ[ί]χρυσα ταῦτα·

(16) [κυνῆ ἐπίχ]ρυσος

(17) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσο[ι] ὑπόχρυλοι : ΔΓ :

(18) κλίνει Χιουρ(γ)εῖς [ : ΓΙΙΙ :

(19) κλίνει Μιλησιουργεῖς : Δ :

(20) χσιφ[ομάχαιρα]ι : ΓΙΙΙ :

(21) χσίφη : Γ :

(22) θώρακες : ΔΓ[Ι : ]

(23) ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι : ΓΙ :

(24) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι : ΔΔ]ΔΙ :

(25) θ[ρ]όνοι : Γ[Ι] :

(26) δίφρο[ι] : ΙΙΙΙ :

15 (27) ὀκλαδ]ίαι : ΓΙΙΙ :

(28) λύρα κατάχρυσο[s] : ]Ι :

(29) λύραι ἐλεφάντιναι : ΙΙΙΙ :

(30) λύραι : ΙΙΙΙ :

(31) [τράπεζα ἡ]εφαντωμένη

(32) κράνη [χαλκᾶ : ΙΙΙ :

(33) κ]λινῶν πόδες [ἐπ]ἀργυρο[ι] : ΔΙΙΙ :

(34) π]έλ[τ]η

(35) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ : ΙΙΙΙ : κύλικες : ΔΙΙΙ : ἀργυροῖ : ἵππος

ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν] τούτων : ΓΗΗΗΗ :

(36) ἀσπίδες ἐπιχρύσω ὑποχρύλω [ : ΙΙ : ]

(37) ἀκινάκης ἐπὶ χρυσος, ἄσ]ταθμος

(38) φιάλα[ι ἀργυραῖ : ΓΙΙΙ, : στ]αθμὸν τούτων : ΓΗΗΗΗΓΓΓ :

(39) ποτήρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ : ΙΙΙΙ, : σταθμὸν [τούτων] : ΗΔΔ

ΓΓΓΓ :

(40) συβή[τη] παρὰ Μηθυ]μναίων ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος

(41) ἀσπίς ἐγ Λέσβου : ἐπίσημος χρυ[σῆ] : Ι :

(42) ἐγ Λ]έσβου Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκὸν

20 (43) φιάλ[α] ἀργυρᾶ : ΙΙ : καρχησίω ἀργυρῶ : [ΙΙ] : σταθμὸν τούτων : ΓΗΔΔΔΔ [ : ]

(44) Λ[έ]σ[β]οι [κότυλοι] ἀ[ρ]γυροῖ : ΙΙΙ [ : ] σταθμὸν τούτων : ΗΗ]ΗΗΔΔΔ :

(45) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου : ΔΓΓΓΓΓ :

(46) στέφανος χρυσοῦ[s, σταθμὸν τούτου : ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ :

(47) Ἀθηναίας Ν]ίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου : ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ :

(48) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου : ΔΔΔΓΓΓ :

(49) Ἀθηναίας Ν]ίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου :  
ΔΔΔ††† :

(50) τετράδραχμον [χρυσοῦν, σ]ταθμὸν τούτου : Γ†††† :

(51) δυνχς τὸ]ν δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν : [ἐ]χ[ων, ᾗ]σταθμο[s].

The above text is based upon *I.G.* i. 170, which in some respects is superior to *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 280.

The *traditiones*, inventories of sacred objects received by the responsible officials from their predecessors and handed over, together with any additions which might have accrued during their year of office, to their successors, form a large and important class of documents, especially in Athens and Delos. The earliest examples are the three series which begin in 434/3 and relate to the three portions of the Parthenon in which treasures were stored under the custody of the annually appointed ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας,—the Pronaos (see No. 78), the Hekatompedos or eastern *cella* (see No. 70), and the western *cella* or Parthenon proper, to which the present inscription relates. We also possess a considerable portion of an inventory for 429–8 published by the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 310; cf. the revised edition by J. Johnson, *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxv. 31 ff.) and of two others, dated 408–7 and 407–6, issued by the commissioners of the Eleusinian sanctuary (*ib.* 313–14). At the close of the fifth century and throughout the fourth these records become much longer and fuller (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1370–1552: cf. H. Lehner, *Über die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Strasburg, 1890, W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*<sup>3</sup>, 458 ff., W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, 110 ff.), and similar lists regularly appear in the annual reports of the Delian ἱεροποιοί from the closing years of the fourth century (*I.G.* xi. 135 ff., F. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos: Comptes des Hiéropes*, Paris, 1926–9; good examples in *S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup> 588, Michel, 833).

The *traditiones* of the Treasurers of Athena, upon which Pericles probably relied in part for his estimate of the Athenian resources in 431 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 13. 4), though drawn up annually, were inscribed only on the occasion of the Great Panathenaea, when the four boards of the expiring quadrien-

nium are regarded as handing over the treasures in their charge to the board entering office. Of the 'Parthenon' inventories the first four (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 276-9, for the years 434-3 to 431-0) are engraved on the obverse of a marble slab. The slabs bearing the lists for the next eight years (430-29 to 423-2) are lost, but that containing the records for 422-1 to 419-18 and a fragment of that usually assigned to the years 418-17 to 415-14 survive (*ib.* 280-5). For the lists of the following years, in view of the financial stringency, recourse was had to the reverse of the first slab (*ib.* 286-8). Probably the series ended with 407-6, though the later fragments (*ib.* 289, 290, 292 b) are too mutilated to allow of any certain inference. Some of the objects here catalogued may have been melted to swell the war funds, but many of them reappear in the treasure-lists of the fourth century. See further Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 76 ff., Ferguson, *op. cit.* 55 ff.

The inventory was originally drawn up in two classes, (a) objects in precious metals whose weight was registered (Nos. 1-7) and (b) objects of which only the number was given (Nos. 8-33). Later accessions, however, were entered, irrespective of class, in the chronological order of their acquisition.

The Lesbian articles (Nos. 40-2, 44) may well be connected with the Lesbian revolt of 428-7, in which Methymna remained loyal to Athens. The beds of Chian and Milesian manufacture should be noted (Nos. 18, 19; cf. No. 80, ll. 8, 7).

## 70

## Inventory of Treasures in the Hekatompedos: 422-1 B.C.

On two fragments of a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; one is now in the British Museum, the other in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 264 + Böckh, *Staatshaush.* ii. 163 f. Cf. A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.* xlviii. 159 ff.

[Θ]ε[οί]. Ἀθηναία. Τύχη]. |

[Τάδ]ε παρέδοσ[αν ἅι τέτταρες ἀρχαί], [ἅι ἐδ]ίδουσ[αν τὸν λόγον ἐ]κ

[Παναθηναίων ἐς] Παναθήνα[ια, τοῖς τα]μίαισι, ἵοις Πρεσβίας Σημίον  
 Φηγαί[ε]ν[ς] ἐγραμ[μάτενε· ἵοι δὲ ταμίαι, ἵοις Πρεσβί[α]ς Ση[μ]ίον  
 Φ[η]γαί[ε]ν[ς] ἐγραμ[μάτενε, παρέδουσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι], ἵοις Νικέας  
 5 Εὐθυκλέους Ἀλκίμουσιος ἐ[γ]ραμ[μάτενε, Ε[ϋ]φ[η]μ[ω]ι Κολλ[υ]τεῖ καὶ  
 χουνάρχουσι, ἐν τῷ νε[ώ]ι τῷ ἑκατο[μ]πέδωι·

- (1) φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμὸν τοῦτ[ων] Χ]Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΔ[††††
  - (2) κόρη χρυσή ἐπὶ στήλης, ἄστ[α]β[ι]μος
  - (3) ἀπορρα]ν[τήριον ἀργυροῦν, ἄσταθμον
  - (4) στε[φ]άνω [χρ]υσῶ ||], σταθμ[ὸν] τούτοι[ν] <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ
  - (5) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ἔν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτου <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ
  - (6) φιάλαι ἀργυρ[αῖ] | Γ|||], σταθμὸν τούτων <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ
  - (7) καρχήσιον ἀργυρ[οῦ]ν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ
  - (8) καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Διδ[ὸ]ς Πολι[ώ]ς], σ[τα]θμὸν τούτου ΗΗ
  - (9) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν [τούτου] . . . †††||
  - 10 (10) στεφάνη χρυσή, σταθμὸν ταύ[της] <sup>Π</sup>Δ†||[††
  - (11) στε[φ]ανο[ι] χρυσοῖ ||||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΔ]Γ[||.
- Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν, ἵοις Πρε[σ]βί[α]ς Ση[μ]ίον  
 Φ[η]γαί[ε]ν[ς] ἐγραμμάτενε·
- (12) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΓ†††|||
  - (13) χρυσίδε δύο, σταθμ[ὸν] τ[ούτο]ν [Η]Η<sup>Π</sup>[ΔΔΔΔ†††|||
  - (14) χρυσίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΔΔΓ†††||].

For the *traditiones* in general, see commentary on No. 69. The series of which the above is an example contains inventories of the offerings, all of them in gold or silver, preserved in the eastern *cella* of the Parthenon, in which the cult-image stood (cf. No. 47). The prescript of the first list of each quadriennium is of the type here illustrated (ll. 2–5), while those of the rest refer only to the two boards of ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας directly concerned in the transfer.

The records start in 434–3 and extend to 407–6: portions of all these inventories are preserved (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 256–75), except those for 426–5 to 423–2 (four lists on a single slab); fragments of those for 412–11 and 411–10 have recently been identified by Woodward (*loc. cit.*). In 406 these offerings were probably handed over to the Hellenotamiae to be melted down and used for secular purposes (cf. No. 78).

## 71

## Attic Tribute Quota-List: 421-0 B.C.

Three fragments (one inscribed on both sides) of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν* (ll. 2-5 are not completely filled). Phot. in *Jahresh.* vi. 15, Kern, *I.G.* 17.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 220+ Hill, *Sources*, i. 105 (ll. 1-8); A. B. West and B. D. Meritt, 'Arch. Ep. 1924, 41 ff. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 47 (= *S.E.G.* ii. 4); Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 323 (= *S.E.G.* iii. 23); West, *ibid.* 185 ff. (= *S.E.G.* iii. 31). The text given below is that of Meritt and West's latest revision, *S.E.G.* v. 34.

[Θε]οί. | [Ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥι Μενεκλῆς πρῶτος ἐγρ]αμμάτευε  
ἦρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστίων· | [Ἑλληνοταμίαι ἦσαν - 13 - θ]εν,  
Ἡδύλος Φιλαίδης, Πραχσίβου[λ]ος Παιαν[ε]ύς, - 26 - α]ρχίδης Κεφα-  
5 λῆθεν, Ἐργαμένης Ἀχαρνεύς, || [- 31 -]ς, Ἀριστοκράτης Φαληρεύς,  
Ἀριστοτέλης | [Θοραιεύς, 'οἰς - 18 - ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευε· ἐπὶ τῆς  
τετάρτης καὶ τρια[κοστῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπέφνηα]ν τὴν  
ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[του].

## Col. I

	[Ἰωνικός]	
	about 52 lines lost	
H	-----	
ΔΓΓII[II]	-----	
	Μι[λήσιοι]	
X	Λέρος]	
65	Τειχ[ιοῦσσα]	
HHH	Ἰασῆς	
[Δ]ΓΓIIII	Μύνδι[οι παρὰ]	
	Τέρμερα	
[Γ]ΓΓΓII	Κολοφών[ιοι]	
70	ΔΔΔΓΓΓII	Νότιον
	ΓΓΓΓII	Διοσιρῖτ[αι]
XΓ	Λίνδιοι	
H	Πεδιῆς	
	ἐλ Λίνδ[ωι]	
75	ΓΓ	Ἰηλύσ[ιοι]
	HH	Διάκ[ριοι]
		ἐρ Ῥόδωι]

H	B[ρικινδάριοι]
	[ἐρ Ῥόδωι]
80 HH	-----
. ΔΔ	-----

a few lines lost

## Col. II

--	Ἐλαιέα παρὰ
	[Μ]ύριναν
10 --	[Κυ]μαῖοι
--	[Κα]ύνιοι
--	[Π]ασανδῆς
--	[Κα]ρβασσανδῆς
	[πα]ρὰ Καῦ[νον]
15 --	-----

lacuna

[Ἑλλησπόντιος]

lacuna

ll. 15 - c. 44 lost

45	--	- 10 - ι
	--	- - - - -
	--	..... οι
	--	[..... η]νοί
	--	[Σήστι]οι
50	--	[Χερρ]ονησῖται
	--	[ἀπ'] Ἀγορᾶς
	--	[Ἀ]λωπεκοννήσιοι
	--	Σιγειῆς
		[ΔΔΔΤΤΤΙ] Μαδύτιοι
55	--	Παλαιπερκώσιοι
	--	Ἑλαιούσιοι
	--	ἐκ Χερρονήσου
	--	Καλχῆδόνιοι
		[Η]Η Δαυνιοτεῖχ[ῖται]
60	--	Διδυμοτεῖχ[ῖται]
		[ϞΔ]ΓΤΤΙΙΙ Σομβία
	--	Σερ[οτειχῖται]
	--	Βέ[σβικος]
		<i>rasura</i> - - - - -

about 7 lines lost

72 [Θράκιος]

rather more than 9 lines lost

### Col. III

	ΔΤΤΤΙΙ	Τριποαί
	ΔΤΤΤΙΙ	Σίνος
10	ΔΓ	Πράσσιλος
	Δ	Καμακαί
	ΤΙΙΙ[Ι]	Σαρ[ταῖοι]
	Χ	- - - - -

about 34 lines lost

	Η	- - - - -
	Ϟ	- - - - -
50	Η	- - - - -
	Ϟ	- - - - -
	Ϟ	- - - - -



[Νησιωτικός]

H

-----

rather more than 27 lines lost

On the back of the stone

[πόλ]εις αἶδε στρατιᾶι  
μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν

85 HH                    Ἑφαιστιῆς

H                        Ἴμβριοι

ΠΤΗΤΠΠ            Μυριναῖοι

4 lines vacant

92 - 15 - ιαν

lacuna

For the tribute quota-lists see the commentary on No. 30. The heading of this list is fuller than that of any other; it records the names of (a) the first secretary of Council, (b) the archon, (c) the ten Hellenotamiae in the official order of their tribes and (d) their secretary, and it gives us the synchronism between the thirty-fourth year of the series and the archonship of Aristion, 421-0 B.C. Of the Hellenotamiae none can be certainly identified elsewhere save Aristoteles of Thorae (l. 5), who had been *στρατηγός* in 426-5 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 105, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 299. 6), though this Aristocrates (l. 5) may be the same who in the spring of 421 B.C. had signed the Peace of Nicias (Thuc. v. 19). In l. 3 we must probably restore either Ἀγρυλῆθ]εν or Περγασῆθ]εν.

## 72

## Alliance of Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis : 420 B.C.

Fragment of a slab of Pentelic marble, complete on the right, found in 1876 near the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing (the aspirate is omitted in *ἡμερῶν*, *ἡμέρας*, ll. 21, 24). Στοιχηδόν.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 86 + Cf. Reinach, *Traité*, 331 ff.

[Αργείων. Μαντινέων. Ἑλ]ε[ί]ων. | [Σπονδὰς ἐποίησαντο  
ἑκατὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτη καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς καὶ Ἑλεῖοι πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους] [ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν χουμμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσι

ἑκάτεροι ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ] κατὰ γῆν καὶ κα[τὰ θάλατταν.  
 Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔχσειναι ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους καὶ  
 5 Ἡλείους καὶ Μαντινέας || [καὶ τοὺς χυσιμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τοὺς χυσιμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, μήτε Ἀθη[ναίους καὶ τοὺς  
 χ[υσιμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ  
 Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς χυσιμάχους, τέχνη | [μηδὲ μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ.  
 υ υ Κατὰ τὰδε χυσιμάχους εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ  
 Μαντινέας καὶ Ἡλ[είους ἑκατὸν ἔτη· ἐὰν πολέμοι ἴωσι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
 τὴν Ἀθηναίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας καὶ | [Ἡλείους  
 Ἀθήναζε, καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσι Ἀθηναῖοι, τρόπῳ ὅτῳ ἂν δύνων-  
 10 ται ἰσχυρ[οτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ || [δυνατόν· ἐὰν δὲ δηιώσαντες οἰχωνται,  
 πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Ἀργείοις] καὶ Μαντινεύσ[ιν καὶ  
 Ἡλείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἁπασῶν τῶν  
 πόλεων τούτων· κ]αταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἐ[χσειναι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς  
 ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, ἐὰν μὴ ἁπάσαις] δοκ[ῇ].  
 Βοηθεῖν δὲ | [καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Μαντινείαν καὶ ἐς  
 Ἡλιν, ἐὰν πολέμοι ἴωσι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀργείων ἢ | [τὴν Μαντι-  
 νέων ἢ τὴν Ἡλείων, καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσι ἅι πόλεις αὐταί,  
 15 τρόπῳ ὁποῖω]ι ἂν δύνωντα||[ι ἰσχυροτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 δηιώσαντες οἰχωνται, πολεμίαν εἶναι ταύτην] τὴν πόλιν Ἀθ[ηναίοις  
 καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεύσιν καὶ Ἡλείοις, καὶ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑπὸ  
 ἁπασῶν τοῦτων τῶν π[όλεων· καταλύειν δὲ μὴ ἔχσειναι τὸν πόλεμον  
 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μηδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεω]ν, ἐὰν μὴ ἁπ[άσαις  
 δοκῇ]. Ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἔαν ἔχοντας διέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς  
 τε σφετέρας αὐτῶν καὶ τ[ῶν χυσιμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσι ἕκαστοι, μηδὲ  
 20 κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐὰν μὴ φσηφισαμένων τῶν πόλεων] ἁπασῶν τ[ῶν  
 δίοδον εἶναι, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μαντινέων καὶ Ἡλείων.  
 υ υ υ Τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσι ἡ] πόλ[ις] ἡ π[ρό]εμπουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν  
 τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν σίτον, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπαγ[γε]ί-  
 λασ[αν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπιούσιν κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονα βούληται  
 χρόνον τῇ στρατιᾷ χρῆσθαι ἡ] πόλις | [ἡ μεταπεμφσαμένη, δίδωτω  
 σίτον τῷ μὲν ὀπλίτῃ καὶ φσιλῷ καὶ τοχσότηι τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς  
 Ἀλγιν[αίους τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης, τῷ δὲ ἱππεὶ δραχμὴν Ἀλγιναίαν·  
 25 ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεμφσαμένη] τῇ σ[τ]ρατιᾷ χρῆσθω ἡγεμονεύ-  
 ονσα, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ· ἐὰν δὲ ποι δόχῃ ἁπάσαις  
 ταῖς | [πόλεσιν κοινῇ στρατεύεσθαι, τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεῖναι  
 ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν. Ὅμ[όρ]οιαι δ[ὲ] τὰς σπονδὰς Ἀθηναίους  
 μὲν κτλ.

I have accepted the restoration given in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 86, except that in l. 8 I read with Kirchhoff *ἴωσι ἐπὶ* (cf. l. 13) for *ἴωσιν ἐς* and in l. 20 write *βοηθοῦσι* for *βοηθοῦσιν*: see my note below about the *ν* *ἑλεγκυστικόν*.

We have here part of the Athenian text of the Hundred Years' Alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, concluded, largely through the exertions of Alcibiades, in the summer of 420. The circumstances which led up to it are described by Thucydides (v. 27-46), who has preserved the precise terms of the treaty (v. 47), thus enabling us with practical certainty to restore our epigraphical fragment, which is engraved *στοιχηδόν*. Between the text thus restored and the MSS. of Thucydides there are a number of discrepancies. The words underlined above are not found in Thucydides (nor is l. 1, which is no part of the official document, but a title added for convenience); on the other hand he adds *ταῖς πόλεσιν* after *δοκῇ* in l. 18. The order of the ethnics is altered in ll. 7, 8-9, and 13-14, while in ll. 24-5 Thucydides has *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχέτω* for the *τῇ σ[τρατιᾷ] χρήσθω ἡγεμονεύουσα* (if this restoration is correct) of the stone. In l. 4 the historian has *ἐξέστω* for *ἐξεῖναι*, in l. 8 *ἐς* for *ἐπὶ*, in l. 9 *ὁποῖω* for *ὄτω*, in l. 21 *ἐπὴν ἔλθῃ* for *ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσι*, in l. 22 *βούληται* for *βούλωνται*. The stone uses *ἅπας*, *ἐάν* and (probably) *θάλαττα* throughout: Thucydides sometimes writes *πᾶς* and always *ἦν*, *θάλασσα*. The stone inserts *ν* *ἑλεγκυστικόν* before a consonant, but never before a vowel or aspirate (in l. 26 the second *πόλεσιν* is written because of the following pause): Thucydides reverses this procedure.

But not too much emphasis must be laid upon these discrepancies. Some of them may be due to the faulty transmission of Thucydides' text. But that text may depend not upon the record exhibited at Athens, but upon that set up at Argos or Mantinea or Olympia (Thuc. v. 47. 11): the historian, it must be remembered, was an exile from Attica for nearly twenty years after the conclusion of this treaty. Even if it was derived from an Athenian source, that source may have been the official document lodged in the Metroön and not the copy engraved upon stone, and we have reason to know that verbal divergencies were tolerated even between

two copies of a decree engraved for public and permanent exhibition (p. 181). Literal accuracy was not demanded of the ancient historian provided that the meaning was correctly conveyed, and in none of the discrepancies here under consideration is any change of sense involved. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that in those parts of Thucydides' work which underwent his final revision documents are always summarized and never quoted *in extenso*. 'Homogeneity in style was a canon of most ancient men of letters; they shrank from introducing lengthy quotations or inserting the *ipsissima verba* of documents' (J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, 109). If, then, 'we have here material which was to be wrought in during a final revision' (*op. cit.* 85), it is no wonder if Thucydides at the outset omitted from his copy of the treaty a few words and phrases unnecessary to its sense and changed others into the forms which he uses elsewhere throughout his work.

## 73

## Decree about the Priestess of Athena Nike: about 420 B.C.

On the reverse of the stele which bears No. 40 (q. v.).

The first part (down to κης in l. 6) shows developed Attic writing; the remainder, in a different hand, is in Ionic letters. Στοιχειδόν. Phot. in 'Ep. 'Αρχ. 1897, Pl. 11; Kern, *I.G.* Pl. 14.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 25 + For further bibliography see No. 40.

Ἔδοχεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δῆ|μωι· Αἰγῆτις ἐπρυτάνευε, Νεο-  
 5 κ|λείδης ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἀγνόδη|μος ἐπεστάτει, Καλλίας εἶπε· τ||ῇ  
 ἱερελαί τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Νέ|κης ὡ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς τὰς γεγραμ-  
 μένας ἐν τῇ στήλ|ῃ | ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς κωλακρ[έτας], | οἱ ἂν κωλα-  
 10 κρετῶσι, τοῦ Θ[αργηλ|ῶ]νος μηνὸς τῇ ἱερ[ελαί] τῆς Ἀ[θην]αίας τῆς  
 Νέ|κη[ς] - - -

This decree, dated about 420 [the alliance between Athens and Halieis, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 87, was concluded in the same year and perhaps in the same prytany], was intended to secure to the priestess of Athena Nike the regular receipt of the stipend granted to her by No. 40, the original decree having failed to specify the date of payment and the officers responsible therefor. We must take τοῦ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός (ll. 9, 10)

with ἀποδιδόναι and not with κωλακρεῶσι, for the κωλακρέται were annual magistrates, who in the fifth century paid the δικαστικὸς μισθός and certain religious expenses (*S.I.G.* 63, notes 12, 13, *R.E.* xi. 1068 f.). Thargelion was probably chosen because about that time of the year rents for sacred properties fell due (*Arist. 'Αθ. πολ.* 47. 4).

The proposer, Callias, cannot be certainly identified. He may be Callias son of Hipponicus, step-son of Pericles and brother-in-law of Alcibiades (*R.E.* x. 1618 ff.), but the name is a common one in fifth-century Athens. For the spelling 'Αθηναία (l. 5) cf. *G.A.I.* 31 f.

See further the commentary on No. 40. An ingenious explanation of the vacant space in l. 6 (where an Α seems to have been corrected to Γ and both then erased) and the continuation of the text in Ionic letters is given by B. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, 317 ff.

## 74

**Athenian Decree regulating the Offering of First-fruits  
at Eleusis: about 418 (?) B.C.**

Marble stele found in 1880 near the church of S. Zacharias at Eleusis; now in the National Museum at Athens.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν (with occasional irregularities); the aspirate sign is omitted eight times (ll. 3, 15, 18, 20, 24, 31, 32, 47).

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 76 (cf. *Add.* p. 302) + Some further references are given in *L.G.S.* ii. 4. Cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 99, note 1; W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxv. 1230 ff.; B. Keulen, *Mnemosyne*, xlviii. 245 ff.; R. Laqueur, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Volksbeschlüssen*, 98 ff.; F. Noack, *Eleusis*, 193 ff.; A. Körte, *ibid.* 313 ff.; B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, 105 f.; J. Geerlings, *Cl. Phil.* xxiv. 244, xxv. 79.

[Τιμο]τέ[λ(η)]ς Ἀχαρνέ[υς] ἐγραμμάτευε. |

[Ἐδοχσ]εν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
Τιμοτέ[λης] ἐγραμμάτευε, Κυκνέας ἐπεστάτει· τάδε οἱ χονυγραφήs  
χονέ[γρ]αφσαν· ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖν θεῶν τοῦ καρποῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια  
5 καὶ τῇ μαντείᾳ τὴν ἐν Δελφῶν Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν  
μεδίωνων [κ]ριθῶν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑκτέα, πυρῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν  
μεδίωνων μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἡμιέκτεων· ἐὰν δέ τις πλείω καρπὸν ποιῇ ἢ  
τ[οσοῦτο] μὴ ὀλεΐζω, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι. Ἐγλέγειν  
δὲ [τοὺς] δ[ημ]άρχους κατὰ τοὺς δήμους καὶ παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἱερο-

- 10 ποιοῖς τοῖς || 'Ελευσινόθεν 'Ελευσινάδε' οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιρούς τρεῖς  
 'Ελευσίν|ι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια 'όπου ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς 'ιεροποιοῖς καὶ τῷ  
 ἀρχ|ι|τέκτονι ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὸν  
 δὲ κα|ρρὸν ἐνθαυτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν, ὃν ἂν παραλάβωσι παρὰ τῶν  
 δημάρχων|. | 'Ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς χσυμμάχους κατὰ ταῦτά· τὰς  
 15 δὲ πόλεις [ἐγ]λ[ο]||γέας 'ελέσθαι τοῦ καρποῦ, καθότι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῇτι  
 ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸς|s] ἐγλεγήσεσθαι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐγλεχθῇ, ἀποπεμφσάν-  
 των 'Αθήναζε, | τοὺς δὲ ἀγαγόντας παραδιδόναι τοῖς 'ιεροποιοῖς τοῖς  
 'Ελευσιν|νόθεν 'Ελευσινάδε· ἐ[ἀ]ν δὲ μὴ παραδέχσωνται πέντε ἡμερῶν  
 4v | ἐπειδὴν ἐπαγγελῇ, παραδιδόντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 'όθεν ἂν  
 20 [ῆ]||[ι] ὁ κα[ρρ]ός, εὐθυνόσθων 'οι 'ιεροποιοὶ χιλίαισιν v δραχμήσι  
 ['έκαστος· καὶ παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων κατὰ ταῦτά παραδέχεσθαι.  
 [Κήρ]υ|[κ]ας δὲ 'ελομένην ἡ βουλή πεμφσάτω ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀ[γ]γέλ-  
 λον[τ]ας [τὰ | νῦν] 'εψηφισμένα τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ μὲν νῦν εἶναι 'ως  
 τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]οιπὸν 'όταν δοκῇ αὐτῇ· κελευέτω δὲ καὶ 'ο 'ιερο-  
 25 φάντης καὶ [ὁ] || δαιδούχος μυστηρίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τοὺς 'Ελλήνας τοῦ  
 καρποῦ κατὰ | τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐν Δελφῶν· ἀναγρά-  
 φσαντες δὲ ἐ[μ] πινακίῳ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ τε παρὰ τῶν  
 δημάρχων κατὰ τὸν δ[ῆ]μον 'έκαστον καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν 'εκάσ[την] | καταθέντων ἐν τε τῷ 'Ελευσινίῳ 'Ελευσίνι  
 30 καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλ[ευτ]ῇ||[ρ]ίῳ· ἐπαγγέλλειν δὲ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τῇσι  
 ἄλλῃσι πόλεσιν [τ]ῇ[σι]· 'Ε[λ]ληνικῇσιν ἀπάσῃσι, 'όποι ἂν δοκῇ  
 αὐτῇ δυνατὸν εἶναι, λ[έγο]ν[τας] μὲν κατὰ 'ὰ 'Αθηναῖοι ἀπάρχονται  
 καὶ οἱ χσύμμαχοι, ἐκε[νοι]s] δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττοντας, κελεύοντας δὲ  
 ἀπάρχεσθαι, ἐὰν βούλῃται, | [κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν  
 35 ἐν Δελφῶν· παραδέχεσθαι δ||ε καὶ παρὰ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἐάν τις  
 ἀπάγῃ τοὺς 'ιεροποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτά· Θύειν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πελανοῦ  
 καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσ]ῇ|γῶνται, τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσό-  
 κερων τοῖν θεοῖν 'εκα[τέρ]αι ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῷ  
 Τριπτολέμῳ καὶ τῷ [θε]||ῳ καὶ τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῷ Εὐβούλῳ 'ιερεῖον  
 40 'εκάστωι τέλειον καὶ || τῇ 'Αθηναίῃ βοῦν χρυσόκερων· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας  
 κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς ἀπ[ο]δομένους τοὺς 'ιεροποιοὺς μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἀναθήματα ἀνατιθέναι τοῖν θεοῖν, ποιησαμένους 'άττ' ἂν τῷ δήμῳ  
 τῷ 'Αθηναίων δοκῇ|ι, καὶ ἐπιγράφειν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, 'ότι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 καρποῦ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἀνεθέθη, καὶ 'Ελλήνων τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον· [τοῖ]s  
 45 δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦσι || πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ εὐκαρλίαν καὶ πολυκαρ-  
 πία|ν, 'οἴ|τινες ἂν | [μ]ῇ ἀδικῶσι 'Αθηναίους μὴδὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν  
 'Αθηναίων μὴδὲ τὼ θεῶ|. |

[Λ]άμπων εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χυγγραφαὶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς  
 τοῦ | καρποῦ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὰς δὲ χυγγραφὰς καὶ τὸ φσήφισμα τότε ἀνα-  
 50 γ|ραφσάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλαιν δυοῖν λιθίνοι||ν  
 καὶ καταθέτω τὴν μὲν Ἐλευσίνι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν [ἐ]μ  
 πόλει· οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἀπομισθωσάντων τῷ στήλα· οἱ δὲ κωλ[ακρ]||έ-  
 ται δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον. Ταῦτα μὲν πε[ρ]ὶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τοῦ καρ[π]οῦ  
 [τ]οῖν θεοῖν ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸ στήλα, μῆνα δὲ :: ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατον-  
 55 τ[ῶ]||ι Πελαργικῷ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἐνὶ δρόεσθαι βωμοὺς ἐν τῷ  
 Πελα|ργικῷ ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· μηδὲ τοὺς λίθους  
 τέμνειν ἐκ τοῦ [Π]ελαργικοῦ, μηδὲ γῆν ἐχσάγειν μηδὲ λίθους· ἐὰν δέ  
 τις παραβαίνει | τῖ::ούτων τι, ἀποτινέτω πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς,  
 ἐσαγγελλέτω δὲ τ[ο] βασιλεὺς ἐς τὴν βουλήν. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου  
 60 τῆς ἀπαρχῆς χυγγράφ||σας Λάμπων ἐπιδειχσάτω τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ  
 τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, | ἥ δὲ βουλὴ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐχσενενκέτω  
 ἐπάνωκες.

The text is well preserved and the restorations given above may be regarded as certain. At the close of l. 18 the engraver probably wrote *ἐπει* and then deleted the letters when he realized that he had repeated them at the beginning of l. 19.

For the forms *ἐνθαυοῖ* (l. 18) and *ἀνεθέθη* (l. 44) see *G.A.I.* 102 f., for *εὐθυνόσθαι* (l. 20: in the Athenian copy of the decree *εὐθυνέσθαι* is used and other divergencies occur) *ibid.* 168.

The Eleusinian temple and cult had been reorganized by the Athenians shortly before 460 B.C. in a law which is still extant, though in a mutilated condition (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 6). The present enactment, the date of which will be discussed below, falls into the following sections.

I. Ll. 1-4. Prescript. The motion adopted by the Council and ratified by the Assembly had been formulated by a body of *ξυγγραφεῖς* (l. 3). In the second half of the fifth century the Athenians repeatedly appointed a single *ξυγγραφεὺς* (ll 59-61, Andoc. i. 96) or a committee of *ξυγγραφεῖς* to draft proposals on a given subject, which were then submitted to the Council and the people: such proposals were termed *ξυγγραφαί* (ll. 47, 48, No. 44, l. 15, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 844. 4; cf. No. 54, l. 19, Lys. xxx. 17). See in general H. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* xlv. 302 f., Busolt, *Gr. St.* 459 ff. The best-known instance is that of

the *ἐγγραφεῖς ἀποκράτορες* of 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 67, Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 29. 2, 30. 1; cf. Busolt, *Gr. St.* 70 ff., 905, Caspari, *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 1 ff.).

II. Ll. 4-46. Regulations regarding first-fruits of corn.

(a) All Athenian farmers must set aside not less than  $\frac{1}{100}$  of their barley and  $\frac{1}{200}$  of their wheat to be collected and delivered at Eleusis by their respective demarchs (ll. 4-10), 'in accordance with ancestral custom and the oracle from Delphi'. For the ratio of barley to wheat in Attic agriculture, of which we possess exact statistics for 329-8 B.C. (*S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup>. 587 = *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1672), see A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, 36 ff.; for the *ιεροποιοὶ οἱ Ἐλευσινόθεν* (ll. 9, 17), who are to be distinguished from the ten *ιεροποιοὶ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν* (No. 83, l. 6, Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 54. 7), see Roberts-Gardner, p. 26, and J. Oehler in *R.E.* viii. 1585 f.

(b) The storage of the first-fruits (ll. 10-13). *Σιροί* (l. 10) were underground granaries, such as were extensively used in Cappadocia, Thrace, Spain and Africa (Dem. viii. 45, Varro, *R.R.* i. 57, Columella, *R.R.* i. 6. 15, Pliny, *N.H.* xviii. 30. 306; cf. *De Bell. Afr.* 65); for the nature and position of the Eleusinian *σιροί* see F. Noack, *Eleusis*, 193 ff.

(c) Similar first-fruits shall be collected by *ἐκλογεῖς* in all the allied cities and delivered at Eleusis to the *ιεροποιοί*, who must accept them without delay (ll. 14-21) and keep an official record of the offering made by each several deme and city (ll. 26-30). The clause (ll. 21-4) providing for the prompt notification of the allies seems misplaced, while that (ll. 24-6) relating to a Panhellenic invitation would be more appropriately inserted in the following section. Laqueur (*op. cit.*, 99 ff.) thinks that they formed no part of the proposal of the *ἐγγραφεῖς*, but were added to it in the course of the debate in the Assembly. As we know of the existence of an Eleusinion at Athens (Thuc. ii. 17. 1; cf. *S.I.G.* 885. 41), Dittenberger proposed to read *καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι* for *Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ* in l. 29; but Ziehen (*L.G.S.* ii. p. 25) supports the reading of the stone and regards the *βουλευτήριον* as that of Athens.

(d) All other Greek cities shall, so far as possible, be invited to make similar offerings (ll. 30-36). Here too, as in



the exhortation of the *ιεροφάντης* and the *δαδούχος* (ll. 24-6), appeal is made to ancestral custom and the Delphian oracle. Isocrates (iv. 31) speaks of *ἀπαρχαὶ τοῦ σίτου* as annually offered by most cities and of the Pythia as ordering defaulters to comply with the practice. That this persisted down to Hadrian's reign is attested by Aelius Aristides (*Eleus.* p. 417, *Panath.* p. 167 f. ed. Dindorf).

(e) The disposal of the first-fruits thus deposited at Eleusis for sacrifices and votive offerings (ll. 36-44). The *πλανός* (l. 36) is flour made from the choicest corn, both wheat and barley (*L.G.S.* ii. p. 25 f., P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche*, 66 ff.). The clan of the Eumolpidae enjoyed the hereditary and exclusive right of *ἐξήγησις* at Eleusis. The *τρίττοια βόαρχος* (l. 37; cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 5. 5, 845. 6) was a sacrifice of three victims, of which the first was a bull (*L.G.S.* ii. p. 10); the *ιερείον* (l. 39) was a sheep. By *τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ θεῇ* (l. 38 f.) Pluto and Persephone are probably denoted; for Euboulos (Eubouleus) see Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. 118, and Jessen in *R.E.* vi. 861 ff. An example of an offering inscribed as here directed (l. 43 f.) is found in *I.G.* iii. 85, οἱ Πανέλληνες (cf. Tod, *J.H.S.* xlii. 173 ff.) *ἀρίσταν* (= *aristam*?) *καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς*.

(f) Invocation of blessing and prosperity on those who thus honour the Eleusinian goddesses and act fairly towards Athens (ll. 44-6).

III. Ll. 47-61 comprise a rider moved by Lampon, who may have been one of the *συγγραφεῖς* of l. 3. He was a noted prophet (Plut. *Per.* 6), took a leading part in the foundation of Thurii (Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 529 f.) and was the first Athenian signatory of the Peace of Nicias and the alliance with Sparta which followed (Thuc. v. 19. 2, 24. 1). He is called *ἐξηγητής* by Eupolis (ii. 545, No. 23 ed. Meineke) and by the scholiast on Aristoph. *Nubes*, 332. The rider provides:

(a) That this decree be published by means of two stelae, one erected in the sanctuary at Eleusis, the other on the Athenian Acropolis (ll. 47-53). Of the second copy a small fragment, containing parts of ll. 15-21, has survived (A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* vi. 10 ff., with phot.).

(b) That the (eponymous) archon of the next year inter-

calate a second Hekatombaion (ll. 53-4). Usually the month duplicated in an intercalary year was Posideion, but we know of a doubling of Gamelion (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1487. 54) and of Anthesterion (*ibid.* 844. 33). Here Hekatombaion, the first month of the Attic civil year, is duplicated, presumably in order to give longer notice of the date at which first-fruits must be delivered at Eleusis, probably (though this is not expressly stated) during the Eleusinia in the month Boedromion. The nine dots in ll. 53 and 58 indicate erasures.

(c) That the sanctuaries in the Pelargikon be delimited, the erection of unauthorized altars there prevented and the removal of stones or earth therefrom stopped (ll. 54-9). For the delimitation of sacred precincts cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 94. 7, τοὺς ὁριστὰς ἐπιπέμψαι ὁρίσαι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα. For the Pelargikon (the name is so spelled in Aristoph. *Aves*, 832, and in the Laurentian MS. of Thuc. ii. 17. 1) as a hunting-ground for stones or earth see Pollux, viii. 101 and Lucian, *Pisc.* 47. Thucydides (*loc. cit.*) contrasts it with the Acropolis, the Eleusinion and εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν.

(d) That Lampon draft a regulation regarding the first-fruits of olive oil and lay it before the Council, which must perforce submit it to the Assembly (ll. 59-61). Laqueur (*op. cit.* 98 f.) denies that this clause can have belonged to Lampon's rider (but see No. 44, ll. 8, 34), which he restricts to ll. 47-52; the remainder he regards as a series of amendments carried by the Assembly in the debate on the proposal of the ξυγγραφείς.

Unfortunately, there is nothing in this measure to determine its date, and the suggestions of modern scholars range from 445 to 417 or even 416 B.C. (see Noack, *op. cit.* 197, Geerlings, *Cl. Phil.* xxv. 79). Those who regard it as anterior to the Peloponnesian War see in it the expression of Pericles' imperial and Panhellenic policy. The writing of the Athenian fragment is, however, declared by Wilhelm to be very similar to that of No. 71, engraved in 420, and of *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 370-1, engraved not earlier than 415 (*Jahresh.* vi. 15, *Wien. Anz.* 1922, 45), though the forms of the dative plural of the first declension (ll. 15, 20, 30, 31: the Athenian fragment

apparently had *χιλίας δραχμαῖς* in l. 20) forbid our dating this decree much later than 420 (*G.A.I.* 120 f.). Ziehen places it in 423-2, probably in the eighth prytany (l. 60), i.e. in March or April 422, and views the extant accounts of the moneys received by the Eleusinian *ἐπιστάται* in 422-1 to 419-8 *ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου τῆς ἀπαρχῆς* (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 311) as recording the first operations of the new enactment. Körte appeals to these accounts, as well as to historical, palaeographical and linguistic evidence, in favour of his attribution of the inscription to the spring of 418 (Geerlings would substitute 417), at a time when the ambition of Alcibiades led the Athenians to adopt various grandiose schemes. This view I have adopted, though not without some misgiving.

## 75

## Payments from Athena's Treasury for public Purposes :

418-414 B.C.

Six fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis (for the sixth see *A. J. Arch.* xxxiv. 150 f.), and now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum with the exception of one (containing the left-hand portions of ll. 57-75), which is in the British Museum (*B.M. Sel. Inscr.* p. 19).

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν* (with slight irregularities): 85 letters compose the normal line in the earlier part of the inscription, 96 in the latter part (ll. 55-73). There is some inconsistency in the treatment of the aspirate and in the spelling of *συνάρχοντες* (-ουσι), which occasionally has an initial *σ*. Phot. and facs. in *A. J. Arch.* xxxiv. 126 ff.

The text, reconstituted by the labours of Rangabé, Büekh, Kirchhoff and other scholars, was in 1924 edited by Kirchner in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 302+. Since then A. B. West and B. P. McCarthy have re-edited ll. 2-35 in *A. J. Arch.* xxxii. 346 ff., W. Bannier has dealt with l. 17 in *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 669, A. B. West has discussed ll. 36-52 (as numbered in the text given below) in *A. J. Arch.* xxix. 3 ff. (*S.E.G.* iii. 34), xxxiii. 37 ff., and B. D. Meritt has re-edited the whole document in *A. J. Arch.* xxxiv. 125 ff. Cf. *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* 19, No. 16.

418-17 B.C.

[Θεο]ί. | [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥμι . . . . . πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσεν] ταμίαι [ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Πυθόδωρος Ἀλαιεύς καὶ συνάρχοντες, οἷς Φορμίων Ἀριστίωνος Κ]υδαθηναῖος [ὃς ἐγραμμάτευσεν, παρέδομεν Ἑλληνοταμίαις Ἐργοκλείῳ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεὺς καὶ συνάρχουσι καὶ παρὰ ἑδρῶς] [Ἐργοκλείῳ Ἀρχεστράτου Ἀθμονεὺς καὶ συνάρχουσι, ἐπὶ τῆς

- ..... ἴδος πρώτης πρυτανεύουσης καὶ ἡμέραι δευτέραι καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . , ὥστε δοῦναι τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐπὶ Ἀργύρου τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, .ιο[ - 9 - εἶπε· τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο παραδοῦναι τοὺς Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ [τ]οὺς παρέδρους τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ Πυθιοδώρῳ Ἀλαίῃ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ πάλιν παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ τοῖς παρέδροις, τούτους δὲ δοῦναι
- 10 στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ Θωράικης Εὐθυδήμῳ Εὐδήμῳ [v || - -]. *vacaat* | Ἐπὶ τῆς ..... ἴδος πρυτανείας δευτέρας πρυτανεύουσης, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Ἐργυροκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεῖ, [v | - 17 - Αἰχ]σωνεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν καὶ παρέδροις Ἱεροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτῳ Ἀθμονεῖ καὶ συν[ἀ]ρχ[ου]σιν - 13 - κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας [πα]ρέδομεν - 9 - τε καὶ χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ στατήρας  $\frac{\times}{\times} \frac{\times}{\times} \frac{\times}{\times}$  [ . . | - c. 4 - καὶ ἑκτας - c. 8 - ]
- 15 ἀργύριον τούτων [γί]νεται - 20 - ] |· τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον παρέδομεν τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐπὶ Ἀργύρου τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους, φσηφισαμένον τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἄδειαν. *vacaat* | Ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἴδος - ]ης πρυτανεύουσης δ[ι]γδῆς εἰκοστῇ ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας, στρατηγοῖς παρέδομεν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ Σκαμβωνίδῃ, Αὐτοκλεῖ Ἀναφλυστίῳ, - .]. *vacaat* | Ἐπὶ τῆς ..... ἴδος ἐνάτης πρυτανεύουσης τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας, παρέδομεν τοῦ ἐχ[θ]ροῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπελθόντος Ἑλληνοταμίαις Ἐργυροκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεῖ καὶ
- 20 χουνάρχουσι καὶ παρ[ε]δρῳ Ἑλληνοταμιῶν Ἱεροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτῳ Ἀθμονεῖ . . . οὗτοι δὲ ἔδοσαν στρατηγῶσι Νικίαι Νικηράτῳ Κυδαντίδῃ, Κάλ[ι]στράτῳ Ἐμπεδόν Ὀῦθεν, Κ - .]. *vacaat* | Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς [ἀ]ρχῆς [Π] [Τ] [Χ] [Π] [Η] [Η] - 8 - || *vacaat* |

417-16 B.C.

- Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ Εὐφρόνῳ ἄρχοντι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς,
- 25 ἡ - 9 - πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσεν ταμίαις ἑλλῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Ἀνασικράτης Λαμπρέως καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς Εὐχσενος Εὐφάνους Προσπάλτιος ἐγραμμάτευσεν, [πα]ρέδομεν - 28 - στρατηγοῖς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θωράικης καὶ Ῥίνωνι Χαρακλέους Παιανιεῖ, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἡ - 6 - πρυτανεύουσης καὶ ἡμέραι δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, (φ)σηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἄδειαν, - .]. *vacaat* | Ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδου - 6 - πρυτανεύουσης, παρέδομεν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Μῆλον
- 30 Τεισίλῃ Τεισιμάχῳ Κεφαλῇθεν, v || Κλεομήδῃ Λυκομήδους Φλυεῖ, - 18 - τῆς πρυτανείας, φσηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἄδειαν, ἂ νυν |

Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος - 4 vel 5 - ἧς πρυτανευούσης, Ἑλληνοταμίαις  
παρέδομεν - 8 vel 7 - ] ωι Αἰὺρ]ίδη, Τιμάρχωι Παλ[ληνεὶ καὶ στρατη-  
γοῖς ἐς Μήλων Τεισίαι Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, Κλεομήδει Λυκο-  
μήδ]ους Φλυεῖ, τρίτῃ καὶ δεκ[άτῃ] τῇς [πρυτανείας, φσηφισαμένου  
τοῦ δῆμου τὴν ἀδειαν, - -]. *vacat* | [Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος τοῦ ἐ]πὶ  
35 τῆς || [ἀρχῆς· - - -]. *vacat* |

416-15 B.C.

[Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ Ἀριμνήστου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
βουλῆς, ἥι - 8 - πρῶτος] ἐγραμμάτευν· ταμίαι [ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς  
Ἀθηναίας Δεχσίθεος Φυλάσιος καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, οἷς Λυσικλῆς  
Δ]ρακοντίδου Βατήθ[εν] | ἐγραμμάτευν, παρέδομεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρη-  
μάτων τῶν τῆς θεοῦ Ἑλληνοταμίαις - 10 - ] Παλληνεὶ - 5 - | - - - - - ||

λασινα

40 - 13 - ΔΔ *vacat* | [Ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκρο]πίδος [ὀγδόης πρυτανευού-  
σης - - - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας - - | - 11 -] ΟΝΕΙ - 45 - οἱ - 23 - |  
[Ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκρο]πίδος [ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης - 6 vel 8 - καὶ - 10 vel  
8 - ἡμέραι] τῆς πρυτανείας, στρατη]γοῖς Ἀλ[κιβιάδῃ Κλειν]ίου  
Σκαμβωνίδῃ, Λαμάχῳ Χσеноφάνους Ὀθήθεν, Νικίαι Ν]ικηράτου  
45 Κυδαντίδῃ, καὶ παρέδρο]ις || - 29 -, Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ - 9 - ] ἑῖς  
*vacat* | [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ὁγδοῦς πρυτανευούσης - - - ἡμέραι, στρα]τη-  
γοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, Λαμάχῳ | Νικίαι, καὶ παρέδροις  
- 29 -, Ἀν]τιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ Δ[Δ] *vacat* | [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ὁγδοῦς  
πρυτανευούσης - - ἡμέραι, στρατη]γοῖς ἐς Σικελ[ίαν] Ἀλκιβιάδῃ,  
Λαμάχῳ, | [Νικίαι, καὶ παρέδροις - 29 -], Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ  
50 ΔΤΤΤΤΧ. ΗΗΗ *vacat* || [Ἐπὶ τῆς - 9 - ὁδεκάτης πρυτανευούσης  
ὀγδοῇ ἡμέ]ραι, στρατη]γοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, Λαμάχῳ |  
Νικίαι, καὶ παρέδροις - 29 - ], Ἀντιμάχῳ Ἑρμείῳ χρυσίου Κυ[ζ]μ-  
κηνοῦ στατήρ[ας - - - τιμῇ τούτων γίνεταί - -] ἑῖς *vacat* |  
[Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώμα]τος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς | [ἀρχῆς· - 11 - ] ΔΓἑῖς  
*vacat* ||

415-14 B.C.

55 [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ Χαρίου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥι  
- 5 - ]ίδης πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευν· ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων υ || τῆς  
Ἀθηναίας Λεωχάρης - 11 - καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, οἷς Τελέας Τελενίκου  
Περγασῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευν, παρέδοσαν στρα]τηγοῖς Τηλεφώνῳ - 5 -  
καὶ χσυνάρχουσι καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι καὶ παρέδρωι Φερεκλείδῃ Πει-

ραιεῖ, φσηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμ[ου] τὴν ἄδειαν, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος τρι[της]  
 πρυτανευούσης - 6 - 'ημέραι τῆς πρυτανείας ΔΤΧΧΧ[Π][Η]ΠΔΔΔ  
 ΠΤΗΠΠΠC τε καὶ χρυσίου | Κυζικηνοῦ ΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΣΣΣΣ· τιμή  
 60 τούτων γίνυ[εται] - 16 - ]. *vacat* || 'Ελληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις ἔδα-  
 νείσα[μεν] - 15 - ] 'Αριστοκράτει Εὐωνυμεί καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ΠΤΤΤΤ·  
 οὔτοι δ' ἔδωσαν ἀθλοθέταις ἐς Παναθήναια 'Αμέμπτω[ι] - 11 - καὶ]  
 χσυνάρχουσι ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ερεχθίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης] εἰκοστῇ  
 'ημέραι τῆς πρυτανείας. *vacat* | 'Επὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος τετάρτης  
 πρυτανευούσης 'έ[κτη] 'ημέραι τ[ῆς] πρυτανείας, 'Ελληνοταμίαις καὶ  
 παρέδροις 'Αριστοκρά[τει] Εὐωνυμεί καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις  
 65 ἐ[μ] Μήλῳ - 7 - ] ΔΔ *vacat* || 'Επὶ τῆς 'Αντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυ-  
 τανευούσης δεκά[τῃ] 'ημέραι τῆς] πρυτανείας, 'Ελληνοταμίαις καὶ  
 παρέδροις 'Αριστοκρά[τει] Εὐωνυμεί καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις ἐμ  
 Μήλῳ - 9 - ] /// *vacat* | 'Επὶ τῆς 'Αντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευού-  
 σης τρίτῃ[ι] 'ημέραι τῆς πρυ]τανείας, 'Ελληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις  
 'Αριστοκρά[τει] Εὐωνυμεί καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ΗΗΗΗ· οὔτοι δ' ἔδωσαν  
 [τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατιᾷ] *vacat* | 'Επὶ τῆς 'Αντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυ-  
 τανευούσης εἰκοστῇ[τῇ] 'ημέραι τῆς πρυ]τανείας, 'Ελληνοταμίαις καὶ  
 70 παρέδροις 'Αριστοκρά[τει] Εὐωνυμεί καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ἐς τὰς) ναῦς  
 τὰς ἐς Σ[ικελίαν] ἐσκομισάσα]ς τὰ χρήματα ΤΤΤΤΧΧ *vacat* | 'Επὶ  
 τῆς 'Αντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης δευτέ[ραι] 'ημέραι τῆς πρυτα]-  
 νείας], 'Ελληνοταμίαι καὶ παρέδρωι Φιλομή[λῳ] Μ[αραθωνίῳ] καὶ  
 στρατηγῷ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπω[ι] - 18 - καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ 'ημέραι  
 'Ελληνοταμίαι κ[αὶ] παρ[ε]δρωι Φιλομή[λῳ] Μαραθωνίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ  
 75 ἐν 'Εφ - - - *vacat* | Κεφάλαιον ἀνα[λώματος] τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇς] || ἀρχῆς·  
 ΗΗΗΗΠΤΤΤ - - -.

The reading given above follows closely that of Meritt, who in some respects has modified his published version of the text. In l. 6 Dittenberger restored . . . . . ὥστε δοῦναι τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐς 'Αργ[ος], and Kirchner retains this in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 302; Meritt, following West and McCarthy (*op. cit.* 350 f.), prefers . . . . . ὥστε δοῦναι τριηράρχοις ἐπὶ 'Εἰόν]ος: I write ἐπὶ 'Αργ]ους, as in l. 15. L. 7. Δ]ο[ν]υσόδωρος is a possible restoration. Ll. 18-19. West suggests ἐ[μ] | [Σάμου κατὰ ὁμολογίαν ἀ]πελθόντος, which may well be correct (cf. No. 83, ll. 17, 20, 34). L. 26. West restores π[α]ρέδομεν ἐκ τῶν 'ιεράν χρημάτων τῶν τῆς θεοῦ: we might also write π[α]ρέδομεν - 29 - στρατηγῷ, for a name with patronymic and demotic may well occupy 29 spaces. Can the word παρέδρωι have dropped out before Πίνωνι? In ll. 29, 32, ἐπὶ Μήλῳ might be restored for ἐς Μήλῳ. L. 31. Meritt restores - 2 vel 3 - ἀτης: but ὀγδόης is also possible. L. 38. I have accepted West's restoration παρέδομεν κτλ., though with considerable hesitation. Ll. 40 ff. The mutilated condition of the record makes satisfactory restoration impossible. Even Meritt's view that the normal line

in this section of the document contained 85 letters is not certain. West regards the fourteenth letter of l. 44 as N rather than I, which would point to a line of 84 letters. In ll. 41, 42, he suggests *στρατηγῶν ἐν Μεθ' ὧν* Δ[- 28 -, *ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τ[ὴν ἄδειαν, -]*. In l. 52 I insert *τιμὴ τοῦταν γίγνεται* (cf. l. 59): for *τιμὴ* we might substitute *ἀργύριον* (cf. l. 14).

We have here the record of the payments made by the *ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας* (ll. 2, 24, 36, 55), also called *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* (l. 8), for various purposes, almost exclusively military, in 418-17 B.C. and the three following years. The word describing these payments is *παρέδομεν* (ll. 4, 13, etc.) or *παρέδοσαν* (l. 56) except in l. 60, where *ἐδανείσαμεν* is used: probably the transaction was technically a loan in every case, but nothing is here said about repayment or interest. To five items the phrase *ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τῆν ἄδειαν* is added (ll. 15, 28, 30, 33, 57): cf. No. 51 B, l. 16, and Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 112, note 1. The *πάρεδροι* frequently mentioned in this document are the assessors or assistants of the Hellenotamiae (in l. 20, if Meritt's restoration is correct, the word *Ἑλληνοταμιῶν* follows this title): they seem sometimes to have acted as financial liaison officers between the Hellenotamiae and generals in the field.

In 418-17 B.C. four payments were made, amounting in all to more than 56 tal. 1,700 dr. (l. 23). (1) The first (ll. 2-10) was originally intended for the squadron operating under Demosthenes on the Argolic coast (or, if the restoration *ἐπὶ Ἡρίωνος* is correct, at the mouth of the Strymon), but for some unknown reason was revoked, in accordance with a decree part of whose prescript is quoted in l. 7, and was paid to Euthydemus (for whom see Thuc. v. 19, 24, vii. 16, 69, Plut. *Nicias*, 20, Diod. xiii. 13) and his colleague or colleagues in Thrace; of this expedition nothing further is known. (2) The second (ll. 11-15) was paid, partly in silver and partly in Cyzicene gold staters (the value of which is also expressed in Attic silver drachmas), to the trierarchs with Demosthenes, who may have been in command of the Athenians engaged in the blockade of Epidaurus (Thuc. v. 75. 5; cf. *A. J. Arch.* xxxii. 350). (3) The third payment (ll. 16, 17) was made to Alcibiades (the restoration is probable and exactly fits the available space: Bannier's proposal *Νικίαι Νικηράτου Κυδαντί[δης]*



is epigraphically unacceptable) and Autocles (στρατηγός in 424-3, Thuc. iv. 53, 119). (4) The fourth payment (ll. 18-21) was made to Nicias (who, as we learn from Thuc. v. 83. 4, led a force to Chalcidice and Amphipolis this year), Callistratus (who fell heroically in Sicily soon afterwards, Paus. vii. 16. 4, Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 844 b) and another general, whose name has perished.

In 417-16 three payments are recorded, the first (ll. 24-28) to one or two generals operating in Thrace and to Rhinon (identified by Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.* xxiv. 35, note 1), the second and third (ll. 29-33) to Tisias and Cleomedes for the Melian expedition (Thuc. v. 84).

The account for 416-15 has been seriously mutilated, and we cannot determine how much has been lost. The last four payments (ll. 43-52), which are capable of partial restoration, are made in the eighth, ninth, and tenth prytanies to Alcibiades, Lamachus, and Nicias for the expenses of the Grand Armada which sailed for Sicily in the summer of 415. The fact that the three generals are designated in full in ll. 43, 44 by name, patronymic and demotic while only their names appear subsequently renders it probable that l. 45 contains the first payment authorized for this purpose. From an examination of this and the literary evidence Meritt concludes (*A. J. Arch.* xxxiv. 133 ff.) that the mutilation of the *Hermæ* took place on 6th June (30th Munichion) and was followed on the 18th by the accusation of Alcibiades and on the 21st (θέρους μεσοῦντος ἡδὴ, Thuc. vi. 30. 1) by the departure of the fleet: the final payment (ll. 50-52) was thus made fifteen days before the fleet sailed. These calculations are, however, very intricate and the results must be accepted with caution.

The record of 415-14 is much better preserved and shows a total expenditure of over 353 talents (l. 75). The payments are not registered strictly in order of date but according to the purposes to which they are applied. Of Telephonus (l. 57) and of the operation conducted by him and his colleague(s) we know nothing. The 9 talents granted to the ἀθλοθέται for the Lesser Panathenaea of 415 (ll. 60-62) were apparently paid before and not after the celebration of the



festival (*A. J. Arch.* xxxiv. 143). The next two payments (ll. 63-6) were made to the 'soldiers in Melos' (the restoration is probable, but not certain), perhaps the force sent from Athens under Philocrates (*Thuc.* v. 116. 3). Then follow two items connected with the Sicilian campaign (ll. 67-70)—300 talents sent on Nicias' urgent appeal (*Thuc.* vi. 93. 4, 94. 4, *Diod.* xiii. 8) and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  talents to defray the expenses of the squadron (consisting, according to Meritt's conjecture, of eight vessels) which took this money and a cavalry force to Sicily. As seventeen days elapsed between these two payments, Meritt thinks that the expenses of the squadron were not paid until after its return from the West, and therefore substitutes ἐσκομισάσα]s for the διακομιούσα]s of previous editors. Finally, two payments of unknown amount are made (ll. 71-3) on the same day, one to a general operating in the Thermaic Gulf, possibly Euetion, who in the summer of 414 attacked Amphipolis (*Thuc.* vii. 9), the other to a general stationed at some place, possibly Ephesus, the name of which has almost wholly perished. The payments of the year fell short of a total of 355 talents (l. 75).

## 76

## Decree regulating the Melian Expedition : 416 B.C.

Two fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis ; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν. The aspirate is sometimes omitted.  
I.G. ii. 97 +

- 21 - τοις [ - 14 - | - 9 - ἐσενεγκόντω]ν ἐπάναγκ[ες ἐς τὸν δῆμο]ν  
5 - 17 - τ]ῶν ἐπιφορῶν [ - 10 - | - 18 - ἐ]ντελῇ καὶ τὸμ π[ - 8 - || - 19 -  
κ]λήρους καθότι χ| - 6 - | - 18 - ον ἔχουσιν ταῖς με| - 6 - | - 18 - ν  
ἐντελῇ τὸμ φόρον [ - 6 - | - 6 - ἐσενεγκόντω]ν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τ[ὸν  
10 δῆμον . . | - 17 - ]ς 'ὅταν δέωνται ' . . . . . | || [ - 11 - ἀνδρα]ς  
πέντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατ]δὼν κα|| - 7 - ἐγλεγέσ]θων κατὰ φυλὰς ἔχς 'Αθ[η-  
ν]αίων κα|| ἰ αὐτίκα πληρωσά]σθων τριάκοντα τρι[ή]ρεις στρατ[ι]ώ-  
τιδας ν Καὶ κατ]ασησάσθων ἐκ τῶν εἰληχότων τὰ[ς ναῦς] πλευσάν-  
15 τω]ν δὲ ἐν ταύταις ταί[s] ναυσὶν 'Αθη[ναίων ἐν ἐκάστη] τῇ νηὶ πέντε  
μὲν [ἐ]χς ἐβελοντῶ]ν, ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου δ] ἐ ὀπλίται τεττ[αρά]κοντα ἐν  
ἐκά[στη τῇ νηὶ κατὰ] φυλὰς, τοχ[σόται δέ]κα, πελταστ[α]ὶ δεκαπέντ'

ἐχς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν χσν[υ]μμάχων· ἐὰν δ[ὲ] μὴ τελέσωσι τοῖς]  
 20 ναύ[ταις τὸμ μισσ]θὸν ὅτι σ[τρα]τ[η]ροὶ καὶ οἱ τριηρ[ο]ποιοὶ (?) - 8 - ]ας  
 ἐχς Ἀθηναίων - 19 - ζημιῶσαι μέχρι . . . | - 29 - ον ἀστ[ ] . . . |  
 - 26 - Ἀθηναίο . . . . . | - 28 - θ - - -

A further fragment (c) added in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 97 does not belong to this decree (*S.E.G.* iii. 8)

Mutilated though it is, this inscription may be confidently brought into connexion with the composition and dispatch of the famous Melian expedition of 416 B.C. Thucydides says with reference to it (v. 84. 1) ἐπὶ Μήλων τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑαυτῶν μὲν τριάκοντα (cf. l. 12), Χίαις δὲ ἑξ, Λεσβίαι δὲ δυοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν μὲν διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις (cf. l. 16) καὶ τοξόταις τριακοσίοις (cf. l. 17) καὶ ἵπποτοξόταις εἴκοσι, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων καὶ νησιωτῶν ὀπλίταις μάλιστα πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις. The agreements between certain phrases of our decree and the account given by the historian can hardly be due to mere coincidence.

## 77

## Decrees relating to the Sicilian Expedition: 415 B.C.

Eight fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, *στοιχηδόν*. The aspirate is rarely omitted.

*I.G.* 1<sup>2</sup>. 98, 99 +

## A

- 6 - ν ἅπαν . . . ἐνι . . . κ . . . οιο[ ]. διαχειροτονῆσαι δὲ | τὸν  
 δῆμ[ο]ν αὐτίκα μάλα, εἴτε δοκεῖ ἕνα στρατ[η]γὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἴτε τρεῖς |  
 ἐλέσθαι τύχη ἀγαθῇ νυνί, ὅτινε[s] ἀφικόμενοι ἐκέισε | κακωσάν]των  
 5 τοὺς πολεμίους ὥς ἂν δύνωνται πλεί[στα τὴν χώραν βλά]πτοντες,  
 μισθ]ούσθων δὲ καὶ τῶν χσν[υ]μμάχων ὁπόσους ἂν ναύτας ἐπαγγέλ-  
 λωνται ἅι π[ό]λεις ἐς τὴν βουλὴν τὴν Ἀθηναίων· φροντιζόντων δὲ |  
 καὶ τοῦ ἔκπλου τῶν] ἑχσῆκοντα νεῶν, ὅταμπερ [εἰτοιμοὶ ᾧσιν, καὶ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν] ὅσ[αις] ἂμ βούλωντ[αι χρῆσθαι - 16 - | - 19 - ]  
 ἄλλο - 30 -

10 [τῇμ] βουλὴν καθότι ἄριστα κ[αὶ] κάλλιστα ἅι νῆες ἐχσαρτύνωνται,  
 ἐὰν] τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμῆματος δοκῇ[ι τοὺς τριηράρχους ἐς αὐτὰς δαπα-  
 νᾶν, ἐάν] | τε τῇμ πόλιν ἀναλοῦν ὅσον ἂν δέηται· πρὸς δὲ τὰς νῦν

ἐφσηφισμένα]]s ἔχσῃκοντα ναῦς ἐὰμ προσ[τεθῶσι ἄλλαι, κύριον ἔστω  
 ὅδ' ἂν τεταγ[μένον ἦι ἐσφέρειν· ὅταν δὲ ἤ[δη ἐκπλεῖν μέλλωσιν, ὅι  
 15 πρυτάνεις ἐκκ[λλησίαν ποιησάντων δέκα ἡμερῶν ἐπάναγκες, χρημα-  
 τισάντων δὲ π[ερὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς πρότερον [ἢ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ  
 ναυτικοῦ· τὴν δ]] ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ  
 καὶ χρηματίζεσθ[αι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν νεῶν [καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις καὶ  
 τοῖς τριηράρχ[οις· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἔκπλου τῶν νεῶν [ἐάν του προσδῇται  
 20 τὸ φσῆφισμα τότε, ἐ]] πανορθοῦσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅι δὲ πρυτάνεις  
 καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν ἐ[κκλησίαν ποιοῦντων, ὅταν κε[ναὶ ᾧσι αἱ νῆες  
 ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνητ[ῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας. [Ἐπιμέλεισθαι  
 δὲ καὶ - 13 - ] καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐς καλλιέργησιν - 29 - |· ἔχσακοσίῳ  
 [καὶ] χιλίων [ο]πλιτῶν - 23 - ]

I follow the restoration of I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 98, due mainly to Kirchner, except that in l. 12 I write *vūn* for *πῶνον* and in l. 19 *προσδῆται* for *προσδέη* in order to secure lines of the normal 52 letters. In l. 3 *πλεύσαντες* might be substituted for *ἀφικόμενοι*.

## B

The second decree is even more seriously mutilated than the first, and only a few lines towards the close admit of a continuous restoration.

[Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[ι - c. 9 - ἰς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 . . . . .] . . . ἐπεστάτει, - c. 10 - εἰ]πε· τύχ[ῃ ἀγαθῇ [- 17 - | - 12 - τὰς  
 5 ἐφσηφισ]μένας μισ[θο - 20 - | - 21 - τ]ετταράκου[τα - 19 - || - 19 -  
 πελ]τασταῖς χρ[ - 21 - | - 22 - τ]οχσότας π[εντακοσίους ? - 11 - |  
 - 20 - ἐάν] δέη, ἐκ τῶν [- 20 - | - 21 - τ]έτταρας ὀβο[λους - 17 - |  
 10 - 17 - κυβ]ερνήτας δὲ καὶ [- 20 - || - 19 - τ]αμίαν δὲ χσν[μ]π[λείν  
 . . . . .] | Ε - 9 - | - 19 - | ἡ βουλῇ, ὅταμ μῇ [ᾧσιν ἔκ]ατὸν τριῇ-  
 ρει[s. | - 16 - τοῖς] τριηράρχοις κα . . . . . πολέμιοι ὅ,τι | - 20 - ι  
 τῶμ πολεμίων | . . . . . αστήσασθαι το | [- 18 - τῶν ἄλλων ὅ,τι  
 15 ἂν [δοκῇ ἐπιτ]ήδειον εἶναι | - 43 - αμ πρι χρησ[ - 42 - ταῖς] ναυσὶν |  
 [- 45 - πρυ]τάνει[s - - - ] ιντ |  
 20 - 45 - ιν . . . || - 45 - σω τὸν (vel τῶν) τ[ι] - 24 - |αι ἡ φρου-  
 ρῶσι τῇ[ν πόλιν ἢ τ]ὴν χώραν τ[ι] - 20 - |ν, ὅς ἂν μὴ περιπο[λῃ  
 μηδὲ] μισθοφορῇ[ι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μηδεὶς ὑπομεινέτω πλὴν ὀπόσοις  
 ἄ[ν τάττη] ἢ βουλῇ καὶ | [ο δῆμος, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα] ἐνοχον εἶναι  
 25 ζήμια[ι ἀχσίαι, κ]αὶ μήτε τὸν || [στρατηγὸν . . . . . μήτε τοὺς π]ρυτά-

νεις· λῦσαι δὲ [αὐτίκα κ]αὶ τὸ φσῆφι[σ]μα τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον περὶ  
 τ[οῦ] ἔκπλου τῶν ἐχσῆ[κοντα νεώ]ν, ἕως ἂν ἴ[η] στρατιὰ ἀπάρηι, καὶ  
 μὴ εἶναι ἐ[π'] ἄλλο ἔργον μὴ[δ'] ἐπ' ἄλλην] στρατιὰν | [δαπανᾶν τι τῶν  
 ταλάντων τῶν τ]ρισχιλίων· ἐ[ὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ] ἢ ἐπιφσῇ φίσῃ χρηθῆσθαι  
 30 τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς ἐχσαιρ[έτοις ἐς τὸν στό]λον μ[η] || - 28 - οΛ . s  
 - 20 - |

Two further fragments are too mutilated to be worth republishing here.

Early in 415 the Athenians, after hearing reports from the envoys they had sent to Egesta and from representatives of that city, resolved to dispatch a fleet of sixty vessels to Sicily under command of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus as στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες (Thuc. vi. 8). Decree A, the two fragments of which are not contiguous, seems to have been passed at this meeting: the number of ships is contained in the probouleuma (l. 7), but the δῆμος is left to decide whether to appoint one general or three (ll. 1-3). With the purpose of the expedition as here stated (ll. 3, 4) we may compare the words κακώσομέν γε Συρακοσίους attributed by Thucydides (vi. 18. 4) to Alcibiades, with ll. 11, 12 Thucydides' description of the fleet as ναυτικὸν μεγάλας δαπάναις τῶν τε τριηράρχων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπονηθέν (vi. 31. 3), with ll. 21, 22 Pericles' statement κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν (Thuc. i. 143. 1): perhaps this last phrase should be restored in B l. 9. For meetings of the ἐκκλησία held at the Piraeus (l. 17) see Busolt, *Gr. St.* 991, and compare the sessions of the Council held ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ (No. 61, l. 53).

Four days later, a further meeting of the assembly was convened (Thuc. vi. 8. 3). In this Nicias pleaded for a reversal of the previous decision (vi. 9-14) and Alcibiades for its re-affirmation (vi. 16-18). Seeing the determination of the citizens, Nicias emphasized the difficulties of the undertaking and the magnitude of the requisite force (vi. 20-23), which, in answer to a challenge, he estimated at not less than 100 triremes (excluding Athenian and allied transports), 5,000 hoplites and a proportionate number of light troops (vi. 25). The people thereupon passed a decree αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι καὶ

περὶ στρατιάς πλήθους καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πλοῦ τοὺς στρατηγούς πρᾶσσειν ἢ ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι (vi. 26). Of this decree, or of one passed shortly afterwards, we seem to have fragments in *B*. Line 4 may refer to the 40 ὀπιταγωγοὶ νῆες mentioned in Thuc. vi. 31. 3, where the wage (cf. l. 3) given to the sailors is also recorded: in vi. 43 the number of bowmen (l. 6) who accompanied the expedition is given as 480. The 'previous decree' of ll. 25, 26 is decree *A*: the χρήματα τὰ ἐξαίρετα of l. 29 are probably the reserve fund of 1,000 talents of Thuc. ii. 24. 1 (cf. viii. 15. 1).

## 78

## Inventory of Treasures in the Pronaos: 414-13 B.C.

On a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis; now in the British Museum.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 248 + Michel, 813. Cf. Böckh, *Staatshaush.* ii. 190 ff.; A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.* xlviii. 159 ff.; *B.M. Sel. Inscr.* 18, No. 13.

[Τάδε] [παρέδο]σαν 'αι τέτταρ[ε]ς ἀρ[χαί], 'αὶ ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια | τοῖς ταμί[α]ις Τεισαμενῶι Παιαν[ιεῖ] καὶ χσυνάρχουσιν, 'οῖς Πολυμήδης Κηφισίωνος 'Αθηνεὺς ἐγραμμά-  
τενε. 'οἱ δὲ ταμίαι, 'οῖς Πολυμήδης Κηφισίωνος 'Αθηνεὺς ἐγραμμά-  
τενε, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμί[α]ις Πολυχσενίδηι 'Αχαρνεί καὶ χ[συνάρ]-  
5 χουσιν, 'οῖς Λευκαῖος Κωμάρχον 'Αφιδναῖος ἐγραμμάτενε, || ἐν τῷ  
πρόνεωι.

- (1) φιάλη χρυσῇ, ἐξ ἧς ἀ[ποραίνονται, ἄσταθμος
- (2) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΗΔΔΙ, σταθμὸν τοῦτων ΤΤ|ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΤΤ
- (3) κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙΙ, [σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ
- (4) ποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων | ΗΠΔΠΤΤΤ
- (5) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ
- (6) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΓΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗ
- (7) στέφαν[ος] χρυ[σοῦς], σταθ[μ]ὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΤΤΤΙΙΙ
- (8) φ[ιά]λα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ
- (9) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων Η|ΗΗΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ
- (10) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ
- 10 (11) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΓΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗ||ΗΗΔΔ
- (12) φ[ιά]λαι ἀργυραὶ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΔ

- (13) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ  
 (14) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΔΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 (15) φιῶλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΠΤ  
 (16) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, | σταθμὸν τούτου ΠΔΠΤ  
 (17) λύχνος ἀργυροῦ[s, στ]αθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΤΤ  
 (18) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΠΔΔΔ|ΔΤΤΤΤ  
 (19) φιῶλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ, σταθμὸν [τούτων] ΗΗΗΗΔΤΤΤ  
 (20) ἀργυρίς Ι, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΤΤ  
 (21) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, (σταθμὸν τούτου) ΔΔΔΔ|ΠΤΤ  
 (22) ἀργυρίς Ι, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΠΔ  
 (23) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ  
 15 (24) ἀργυρίς Ι, σ||ταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΠΤΤΤΤ  
 (25) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ  
 (26) ἀργυρίδες ||||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΠΔΔ|ΔΠΤ  
 (27) κύλι]χς ἀργυρᾶ, ἄσταθος  
 (28) φιά]λη ἀργυρᾶ, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΠΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ  
 (29) ἀργυρίδες ||||, σταθμὸν | τούτων Π]ΗΗΠΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ  
 Ἐπέτεια ἐπ[εγέν]ετο ἐν τῷ πρόν[εω]  
 (30) ἀργυρίδες |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΔΠΤΤΤ

For the *traditiones* in general, see commentary on No. 69.

The inventories of offerings preserved in the pronaos of the Parthenon (*I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 232-55*) extend from 434-3 to 407-6, and portions of every list are extant except those of 422-1 to 419-18 and of 410-9. In 411 two lists were drawn up, one (*ib.* 251-2) under the Four Hundred, the other (*ib.* 253) under the restored democracy. The objects recorded are all of silver, with the exception of a golden bowl (No. 1) and a golden crown (No. 7): the former disappears without explanation from the lists for 413-2 and the following years, while the latter is left as the sole adornment of the pronaos after all the other offerings had been handed over, probably to the Hellenotamiae, in 406 (*I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 255, l. 331*; for the difficult problems raised by this and the preceding inscription see W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 10 ff., 50 f., A. C. Johnson, *A. J. Phil.* liii. 274 ff.).

## 79

## Confiscated Property of the Hermocopidae : 414-13 B.C.

Fragment of a slab of Pentelic marble, broken above and below, complete on the left, found near the gate of Athena Archegetis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing (occasionally P), generally στοιχηδόν.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 329 + Cf. M. N. Tod, *C.A.H.* v. 8; G. Glotz, *Litteris*, vi. 109.

	Δ	
[I]I	ΔΓ†††	ἐπικαρπί[α]
		Θρίαι.
[I]I	ΔΔ	ἐπικαρπία
		Ἀθμονοί.
5	κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπωνύ[οις]	
	XXXXPHHΔΔ††††††	
	Πολυστράτου τοῦ Διο - -	
	Ἀγκυλῆθεν	
[†]†	HH††	Πίστος
10 [†]	ΔΔΔΔ†[†]	ἐπικαρπία Ἀγ-
		κυλῆσι.
	κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπωνύ[οις]	
	HHΔΔΔΔΓ†††	
	Κηφισοδώρου μετοίκου ἐμ Πειρα[ιεῖ]	
15 ††	H <sup>Π</sup> ΔΓ	Θράιττα
†††	HΔΔΔΓ	Θράιττα
[†]†	H <sup>Π</sup> ΔΔ	Θράιχς
††††	H <sup>Π</sup> HΔΔΔΔ	Σύρος
[†]††	HΓ	Κάρ
20 ††	H[ <sup>Π</sup> ]Δ†	Ἰλλυριός
††††	HHΔΔ	Θράιττα
†††	HΔΓ	Θράιχς
†††	HΔΔΔΔ††††	Σκύθης
†††	HΔΔ†	Ἰλλυριός
25 ††	H <sup>Π</sup> †††	Κόλχος
††	H <sup>Π</sup> ΔΔ††††	Κὰρ παῖς
†	<sup>Π</sup> ΔΔ††	Καρικὸν παιδίον
††††	HHH†	Σύρος

[+]-	HΓ+	Μελιττ[ηνός or -ηνή]
30 [+]-	[H]ΔΔ	Λυδῆ

I follow in the main the text of *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>, but in l. 10 I substitute [+]- for [111] and ΔΔΔΔ[+] for ΔΔΔΔ+ to avoid the assumption of an error in l. 13, and in l. 30 I follow Kirchner (*S.I.G.* 96) in restoring [H].

Among the duties of the Athenian *πωληταί* was that of selling property confiscated to the state, including that of criminals condemned to death or exile by the Areopagus or other court (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 47. 2, 52. 1; cf. Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1141 ff.). The records of such sales were normally written upon whitened wooden panels; but in the case of those found guilty of the mutilation of the Hermae or the profanation of the mysteries, the heinousness of the offence and the excitement of public opinion led to these records being engraved on marble slabs so as to secure for them permanent publicity. Of these, thirteen fragments have been found in various places and are now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 325-34): one of them is presented above and two more in No. 80.

The mutilation of the Hermae took place in the summer of 415, and in the course of the subsequent investigations, allegations were made of other religious offences (*Thuc.* vi. 27-8), to which a political significance also was attached. Many were arrested and imprisoned, until 'one of the prisoners', on whom suspicion chiefly fell, purchased his release by professing to give a full account of the guilt of himself and his accomplices. Those charged by him were executed or, if they had made their escape, condemned to death; the remainder were released (*Thuc.* vi. 60). This informant, unnamed by *Thucydides*, was the orator *Andocides*, and we possess a later speech of his (*περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων*) relating to this episode, in which occur most of the names which meet us in the sale-lists. Though the trials took place in 415-14 (*Philoch. F.H.G.* i. 402. 111), some at least of the sales seem to fall in the winter of 414-13 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 328. 6 and note).

In the list the left-hand column records the *ἐπώνιον* on each sale, and the second column the price paid. The *ἐπώνιον* (ll. 5, 12) was a tax, here roughly reckoned at 1 per cent.



of the purchase price, payable to the state by the buyer; in the fourth century it was raised to 2 per cent. (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1579), and then again reduced to 1 per cent. (Busolt, *Gr. St.* 616).

Of the persons here named, Polystratus (l. 7) was arrested and executed on the information of Andromachus, while Cephisodorus (l. 14) was among those who were charged by Teucer (*Andoc.* i. 13, 15). In ll. 1, 3, 10 ἐπικαρπία denotes crops not yet reaped (*M. Holleaux, R.E.G.* x. 36). Πίστος (l. 9) is the name of a slave. The Μελιτ[ηνός or -νή] (l. 29) may be a native of Melitene in E. Cappadocia, or of the Illyrian island of Melite (mod. Meleda), or of Malta.

## 80

## Sale-List of Alcibiades' Furniture: 414-13 B.C.

Two fragments of marble, not contiguous but probably parts of the same record; now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

Attic writing (except Ψ in l. 17), not στοιχηδόν. Phot. in *Jahresh.* vi. 236, 238.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 330 + Janell, 148. Cf. W. Bannier, *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 670.

--	κιβωτ[ός] διθυ[ρος]
--	κιβωτὸς τετ[ράθυρος]
Π[ΔΔ]ΔΔ	κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖ[s] Δ
ΔΓ†	τράπεζαι
5 ΔΓ††	χαμεῦνα παράκολλος
Δ	παρα[π]έτασμα [λιτ]όν
--	κλίνη Μιλησιουργῆς ἀμφικέφα[λος]
--	ἀλάβαστοι Γ
--	δίφροι Γ
10 †	[ἀ]νάκλις
--	καναύστρω
--	[κ]ά[νυ]α
	<i>vacat</i>
--	... η
--	[ι]μάτιον
15 --	[ι]μάτιον
--	κοίτη

--	[κ]ρόκη θαψίνη
--	[κ]οίτη
--	[κ]άλω ἱππείω δύο
20 --	[κι]βώτιον πλατύ
--	[κι]βώτια τρία
--	[κνέ]φαλλον πλέων
--	[κνέ]φαλλον πλέων
--	[ἐπιβ]λήτια
25 --	[ἐπιβλ]ήτια
--	[ἐπιβλῆ]τια
--	[ἐπιβλῆ]τια
--	..... α Γ --

For the group of inscriptions to which these fragments belong see the notes on No. 79. That these extracts relate to the property of Alcibiades we learn from Pollux, x. 36 (perhaps derived from Craterus' *Ψηφισμάτων Συναγωγή*), ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοπρατοῖς πέπραται Ἀλκιβιάδου χαμεύνη παράκολλος (cf. l. 5) καὶ κλίνη ἀμφικνέφαλλος (cf. l. 7). Pollux's statement (x. 86) that ἐν τοῖς δημοπρατοῖς οὐ κάναστρον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κάνυστρον εὐρίσκομεν may refer to l. 11; if so, it contains a further inaccuracy, due to the carelessness either of the lexicographer himself or of some copyist.

We may note that all the twelve beds here sold (ll. 3, 7) are of Milesian manufacture: one of them is ἀμφικέφαλος, which is thus defined in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, κλίνης εἶδος παρ' Ἀθηναίοις παρὰ τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνάκλισιν (cf. l. 10) ἔχειν καὶ προσκεφάλαιον. The ἱμάτια (ll. 14, 15) may be night-shirts (cf. Poll. x. 123) and the κοίτη (l. 16) is explained by Pollux (vi. 10) as τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰ στρώματα ἐνῇν. In the same passage he refers to ἐπιβλήματα and ἐπιβόλαια, 'blankets' or 'coverlets', and the word ἐπιβλήτια (l. 24-7), which is found here only, probably bears the same meaning.

For Greek bedroom furniture see C. L. Ransom, *Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, Chicago, 1905 (cf. *Jahrb.* xvii. 125 ff.).

## 81

**Expenditure of the Treasurers of Athena : 411 B.C.**

On the left side of a stele, the front and back of which bear accounts of 432-1 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 296, 309a : cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 33) and of 414-13 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 297) respectively : the three extant fragments are in the Epigraphical Museum.

Ionic letters (O = ou in ll. 14, 15), not στοιχηδόν. Phot. in Meritt, *A.F.D.* 91. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 298+ The text will shortly be re-edited by Professor B. D. Meritt (*A.F.D.* 93), who has kindly allowed me to use his revised version.

[Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλωσαν ἐπὶ | Μνασιλόχου ἄρχου[τος]. | *vacat.* |  
 5 [Ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων]ων τῇ[s Ἀθηναίαι[s Ἀσωπόδω]ρος Κυδα-  
 θηναί[ιενς] καὶ συνάρχου[ντες], οἷς Εὐάνδρος Ἐ[ρ]ιθαλίωτος Εὐωνυ-  
 10 μ[ι][ε]ὺς ἐ[ργ]αμμάτευεν, | παρέδωσαν Ἑλληνο[ταμίαις Ἀντισθέ]ν[ει]  
 15 Ἑρμείω καὶ συν[άρχουσιν, ψηφισαμέ]νης τῇ[s βουλῆς, Ἐκατ[ο]μ-  
 βαιῶτος ἐνάτει | [φθί]νοντος, ἀπὸ τῶν | [χρημάτων]ων Ἀθηναίας |  
 20 [Πολιδό]δος : 44ΠΤΤΧΧ || - - - ΠΔΔΤΤΤΤ|||· τῇ[s Νίκης] Ἀθη-  
 ναίας ἀπὸ | [τῶν χρημάτων]ων ΠΗΔΔΔ[.] - - -

This brief record dates from the rule of the Four Hundred in the summer of 411 B.C. Mnasilochochus (l. 2; for the Dorian form of the name see B. Keil, *Hermes*, xxix. 39, note 1), one of their number, ἤρξεν . . . δέμνον ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ὃς ἤρξε τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους δέκα μῆνας (*Arist.* Ἀθ. πολ. 33. 1) : he reappears later as one of the Thirty Tyrants (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 3. 2). Contrast the phrase ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς (l. 14) with ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου used earlier (see note on No. 75) and later (No. 83, l. 3). Note also the dating by month and day (ll. 15-17) without reference to prytany : according to B. D. Meritt's reckoning (*The Athenian Calendar*, 120), 22nd Hecatombaeon = 11th August, 411 B.C.

## 82

**Eretria revolts from Athens : 411 B.C.**

White marble stele, found at Eretria and now preserved in the museum there.

Ionic writing, with rectilinear forms of β and ρ. Στοιχηδόν. Phot. in *I.G.* xii. 9, Pl. I.

*I.G.* xii. 9. 187+ Janell, 19; Nachmanson, *H.G.L.* 23; *S.I.G.* 105.

Θεοί, | Ἐδοξεν τεῖ βουλῇ· Ἠγέλοχον | τὸν Ταραντῖνον πρόξενον

5 εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ αὐτὸν || κ[α]ῖ παῖδας, καὶ σίτηριν εἶνα|ι καὶ  
αὐτῶι καὶ παῖρῖν, ὅταν ἐ[π]ιδημέωριν, καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ | προεδρίην  
10 ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὡς σ[υν]ελευθερώραντι τῇμ πόλιν || ἀπ' Ἀθηνάων.

The defeat of thirty-six Athenian ships under Thymochares by the Spartan admiral Agesandridas off Eretria in the summer of 411 was immediately followed by the revolt of that city (Thuc. viii. 95). Among the forty-two vessels composing Agesandridas' fleet were some from Taras (Thuc. viii. 91. 2), and Hegelochus may have been in command of these. The omission of any reference to the δῆμος in l. 2 suggests that Eretria was under an oligarchy when this decree was passed. A similar decree in honour of another Tarentine, engraved on the same stone, is of considerably later date (*S.I.G.* 106).

For the substitution of ρ for intervocalic σ see Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Grammatik*, 118.

## 83

## Expenditure of the Treasurers of Athena: 410-9 B.C.

On the obverse of a marble stele, sometimes called the 'Choiseul Marble', brought from Athens to Paris by Choiseul-Gouffier; now in the Louvre. Above the inscription is a relief representing Athena armed, an olive tree, and an armed man or hero. For the reverse see No. 92.

Developed Attic writing (the aspirate-sign is sometimes omitted or wrongly inserted), not στοιχηδόν. Phot. and facs. in Meritt, *A.F.D.* Pl. II-VI.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 304 A + Meritt, *A.F.D.* 94 ff.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλωσαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς,  
ἧι Κλειγένης Ἀλαιεύς πρῶτ[ος] | ἐγραμμάτευσ' ταμίαι ἱερῶγ χρη-  
μάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Καλλίστρατος Μαραθώνιος καὶ χσυνάρχο[ν]τες  
παρέδοσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων φσηφισαμένον τοῦ δήμου

(1) ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρώτης πρυτανευούσης Ε[λλ]ληνοταμίαις  
παρεδόθη: Καλλιμάχῳ Ἀγνουσίῳ, : Φρασιτελίδῃ Ἰκαριεῖ: ἔπποις  
5 σῖτος ἐδόθη: Ἀθηναίας Πολ[ιδ]ῶς: ΤΤΤΧΧΗΗΔΔΔΓΓΓ:   
Νίκης: ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ:

(2) ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης: ἀθλοθέταις παρε-  
δ[ό]θη ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα: Φίλωνι Κυδαθηναεῖ καὶ συνάρ-

χουσιν, Ἀθηναίαις Πολιάδος: ΠΧ: ἱεροποιοῖς κατ' [ἐ]μναυτὸν :  
Διύλλωι Ἐρχιεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν, ἐς τὴν ἑκατόμβην: ΠΗΔΤΤΤΤ :

(3) ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηΐδος τρίτης πρυταν[ε]υούσης: Ἑλληνοταμίαις  
παρεδόθη: Περικλεῖ Χολαργεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν: ἵπποις σίτος  
ἐδόθη: ΤΤΠΗΗΗΗΔΔ[:] | ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις, ἵπ-  
ποις σίτος ἐδόθη: ΤΤΠΗΗΗΗ: ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις[ις]||  
10 Ἑρμῶνι ἐδόθη ἄρχοντι ἐς Πύλον: ΠΤ: ἕτερον: τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλλη-  
νοταμίαις ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν: ΤΤ:

(4) ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκ[α]μαντίδος τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης: Ἑλληνοταμίαις  
παρεδόθη: Περικλεῖ Χολαργεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν: σ[τ]ίτος (ἵ)πποις  
ἐδόθη: ΤΤΤ: ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν  
ἐδόθη: ΠΤΤΤΧΗΗΗΠΓ:

(5) ἐπὶ τῇ[ς] Κεκροπίδος πέμπτης πρυτανευούσης: Ἑλληνοταμίαις  
παρεδόθη: Περικλεῖ Χολαργεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐ[ς] | τὴν διωβελίαν:  
ΤΤΤΤΧΗΗΗ:

(6) ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος ἑκτῆς πρυτανευούσης: τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς  
15 πρυτανείας || Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη: Διουνσίωι Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ  
συνάρχουσιν: ΧΗΗΠΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ: ἐνάτῃ τῆς πρυτανε[ε]ας Ἑλληνο-  
ταμίαις Θράσωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν: ΤΤΤΧΠΔΔΔΤΤΤ||:  
ἑνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Προχσένωι  
Ἀφιδναίωι καὶ συνάρχουσιν, στρατηγῶι ἐχς Ἑρετρίας: Εὐκλείδῃ  
ἀνομολόγημα: ΧΧΧΠΗΗΔΔΔΔΙΔ: τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυ-  
τανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις Περικλεῖ Χολαργεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν: [.] |  
ΧΧΧΠΗΗΗΗΠΓ: ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας: Ἑλληνο-  
20 ταμίαις: Σπουδί(α)ι Φλυεῖ καὶ συνάρχουσιν: ΤΤΧΧ. || Η: τρια-  
κοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας τὰ ἐχ Σάμου ἀνωμολογήθη: Ἑλληνοταμίαις:  
Ἀναγνῶνι Σφητῆνι καὶ παρέδρωι [Π]ολυαράτῳ Χολαργεῖ: ΠΠΤΤΧ:

(7) ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἑβδόμης πρυτανευούσης: πέμπτῃ τῆς  
πρυτανείας παρεδ[ό]θη Διουνσίωι Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς  
τὴν διωβελίαν: Τ: ἑβδόμῃ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις Θρ[ά]-  
σωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν: ΤΧΗΗΔΔΔΤ-  
||ΙΔ: τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἑλληνοταμίαις Φαλάνθῳ [Α]λωπεκῆθεν καὶ  
συνάρχουσιν σίτον ἵπποις: ΤΤΤΤ: ἑκτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτα-  
25 νείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις Προχσέ[ν]ωι Ἀφιδναίωι καὶ συνάρχουσιν:  
ΧΠΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ||Ι: τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοτα-  
μίαις Εὐπόλιδι Ἀφιδναίωι καὶ συνάρχουσιν: ΠΗΗΗΗ: ἑβδόμῃ  
καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις Καλλίαι Εὐωννμ[ε]ί κ[α]ὶ  
συνάρχουσιν: ΤΧΧΠΠΔΠ||ΙΙΙ:



The expenditure here recorded may be summarized thus:

	tal.	dr.	ob.
(1) ἵπποις σῖτος . . . . .	16	2,148	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
(2) Great Panathenaea (ll. 5-7) . . . . .	6	114	0
(3) Δωβελία . . . . .	16	4,787	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
(4) Commandant at Pylos (l. 10) . . . . .	6		
(5) General 'from' Eretria (l. 17) . . . . .		3,740	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
(6) Generals and trierarchs at Samos (ll. 35, 36) . . . . .	38	1,896	0
(7) Unspecified . . . . .	95	4,278	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total . . . . .	179	4,964	2 $\frac{3}{4}$

To item (6) must be added the sum paid to the trierarch Aristophanes (l. 37). In item (7) there is a greater element of uncertainty; I have reckoned the imperfectly recorded amount in ll. 18-19 as 1 tal. 4,906 dr., that in ll. 19-20 as 2 tal. 2,200 dr., and that in ll. 31-2 as 3,188 dr. 1 ob., in each case selecting the lowest sums compatible with the extant signs.

All these payments were made to, or through, the Hellenotamiae with the exception of that for the Great Panathenaea (of which 5 tal. 1,000 dr. went to the ἀθλοθέται and 5,114 dr. to the ἱεροποιοί for the hecatomb) and those to the generals and trierarchs at Samos. The Hellenotamiae named in l. 4 went out of office at the Panathenaea of 410, and all the Hellenotamiae mentioned later in this inscription belong to the board which then came into office. Probably from 411 onwards the Hellenotamiae numbered twenty, taken two from each tribe (Meritt, *A.F.D.* 98 ff.).

In the three items described by the noun ἀνομολόγημα or the verb ἀνομολογεῖσθαι (ll. 17, 20, 34) money due to the treasury of Athena appears to have been paid direct to the recipients without passing through the Treasurers' hands. It seems probable that the 57 tal. 1,000 dr. of l. 21 were paid to the generals at Samos by the Hellenotamias Anaetius, who with his πάρεδρος had gone to the island to effect this transfer with the authorization of the Treasurers and the Hellenotamiae. Τὰ ἐχ Σάμον (ll. 20, 34; cf. No. 75, l. 18 f.) may well

be the revenues accruing to the treasury of Athena from land confiscated to her at the close of the Samian War in 439 B.C. (but cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 219, 552).

Of the men here mentioned several are noteworthy. Pericles (ll. 8, 11, 13, 18), the son of the famous Pericles and Aspasia, received Athenian citizenship, was στρατηγός in 406 and was executed after the battle of Arginusae (Plut. *Per.* 37, Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 16, 7. 2). Hermon (l. 10), who had commanded the περίπολοι at Munychia in 411 B.C. and had joined the revolt against the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 92. 5), is here found as commandant of Pylos, which was not recovered by the Spartans until the following year (Diod. xiii. 64). Euclides (l. 17) was perhaps attempting to recover Euboea, which had revolted from Athens (Thuc. viii. 5, 60, 96, Diod. xiii. 47): he and Anaetius (l. 20) are probably the same who reappear later among the Thirty Tyrants (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2). Aristocrates (l. 35) is doubtless the son of Scellias (or Scelias, *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 772): in 411 he was one of the leaders of the moderate party (Thuc. viii. 89, 92) and took a prominent part in the overthrow of the Four Hundred (Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 33, [Dem.] lviii. 67), but five years later he was among the six generals put to death after the victory of Arginusae (Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 2, 34). Niceratus (l. 36), the son of Nicias, was one of the victims of the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 39, Lys. xviii. 6, xix. 47).

The διωβελία, which appears as a constant and heavy charge here and in No. 92, has been variously understood. Böckh and others have identified it with the θεωρικόν (cf. Sandys on Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 28. 3); others again have regarded it as the ἐκκλησιαστικός or δικαστικός μισθός (Beloch, *Rh. Mus.* xxxix. 239 ff., *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1. 398). The most probable theory is that which sees in it a measure of poor relief instituted by the state during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, when the loss of Euboea and the Spartan occupation of Decelea brought widespread ruin to Athenian citizens (cf. Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* ii. 212 ff.): it was, Aristotle tells us (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 28. 3), introduced by the demagogue Cleophon, a contemporary of Theramenes, and was administered in 406 by Archedemus, another popular leader (Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 2). Beloch's objection



(*G.G., loc. cit.*) that such a system would involve an annual outlay of at least 240 talents is based on the assumption that every citizen could and did claim this dole: in reality it was probably restricted to those who were indigent and were not drawing pay for any state service.

## 84

## Athens honours Neapolis in Thrace: 410-9 B.C. and later.

Eight fragments (of which one cannot be assigned to its position and is here omitted) of a marble stele, found in, or on the southern slope of, the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Ll. 38-55 are in the developed Attic script, save that *ou* is twice written OT. In ll. 1-37 H is used for η, the aspirate is omitted and *ou* is usually written OT; note also *εὐεργέταις* (l. 30) and *πολιτῶν* (l. 35). Only ll. 39-55 are *στοιχῆδόν*. The words underlined are engraved *in rasura*.

L.G. i.<sup>2</sup> 108+ Hill, *Sources*, i. 159 (cf. p. 426).

[Θε]ο[ί]. | Ν[ε]ο[π]ολιτῶ[ν] | τ[ῶ]μ παρὰ Θάσ[ον]. |

Ἐδοχσεν τῇ β[ο]υ[λ]ῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, Λεωντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, ||  
 5 Σιβυρτιάδ[ης] ἐγραμμάτευεν, Χαιριμένης ἐπεστάται, Γλ[ῆ]κυκπιπος  
 ἥρχ[ε], . . . ]θεὸς εἶπεν· [ἐ]παινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπ[ολιταῖς] (τοῖς) | παρὰ  
 Θάσ[ον] πρῶτον μ[ὲν] ὅ[τι] συνδιεπο[λέμῃ]σαν τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ  
 Ἀθηναίω[ν] καὶ ὅτι πολιο[ρκ]οῦμενοι [ὑπὸ Θασίων] καὶ Πελοπον-  
 νησίων οὐκ ἠδύμῃσαν, ἀλλ' ἐ[ν] τὴν ἀ[ποικίαν] Θασίων ἀνδ[ρες]  
 10 ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τε || τὴν στρατιάν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων καὶ τοῦς συμμάχο[υ]ς - c. 17 - ] ο - - - ε - - - | several lines  
 missing | - - - ιηνα - - - | - - - χρήματα - - - | - - - ν ἢ Ἀθηναίῳ  
 15 [- - - || - - - χρήμα]σιν εἶναι Νεοπ[ολιταῖς] - - | - - ον καὶ χρῆσαι  
 ΤΤΤΤΧΧ - - | - - - ὧν ἐδέοντο ὅπως ἀν[τὶ] ἔχ[ω]σι - - | - - - ]ισθαί  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶγ χρημ[ά]των - - | - c. 16 - π[ό]λεως ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος  
 20 τοῦ Σε[ρ]ρεῖον? || - c. 16 - ἐνιαντοῦ ὡς ἀφειληφότας παρὰ  
 - c. 7 - | - c. 16 - σ ἀποδοθῇ· ποιεῖν δὲ ταῦτα ε - c. 9 - | - c. 18 - Θα-  
 σίους· ὁ δὲ διδάσιν - c. 12 - | - c. 13 - σ καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἐθε-  
 λοντ[α]ι - c. 11 - | . . . στρατιώ[ταις] ΠΧΧΧΧ ΠΗΗΗ καὶ πρόθυ-  
 25 μοὶ εἰσι ποιεῖν ὅ,τι δύναν[ται] ἀγαθὸν αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελάμενοι, καὶ  
 λ - c. 15 - | . . . αν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εὐεργ[ε]σίας ταύτης |  
 εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῶι λοιπῶι χρόνῳ[ι] παρ' Ἀθηνα[ίων] τιμᾶσθαι αὐ[τ]οῖς ὡς  
 ἀνδράσιν οὖσιν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τῇ[ν] πρόσδοον εἶναι αὐ[τ]οῖς πρὸς τὴμ  
 30 βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ[μ]ον π[ρ]ώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς || εὐεργέταις οὖσιν  
 Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα || τὰ τούτων, ἃ οἱ Νεοπο-

λίται ἔδο[σαν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ?, παραδοῦναι τῷ γρ]αμματεῖ τῆς  
 βουλῆς, χωρὶς μὲν [τὰ τῶν χρημάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ ἄλ]λα· καὶ τὸ  
 φσθήφισμα τὸδε ἀναγρ[άφσαντα τὸν γραμματέα] τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήλη  
 35 λιθίνῃ καταθ[εῖναι ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖ]ς Νεοπολιτῶν, ἐν δὲ Νεαί  
 πόλῃ αὐτοὶ [Νεοπολίται καταθ]έντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Παρθένου  
 ἐστήλ[ῃ λιθίνῃ· καὶ καλέσαι] ἐπὶ χσένια τῇμ πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸ  
 πρυτα[νείον ἐς αὔριον· δοῦναι δὲ ?] Οἰνοβίῳ Δεκελεεῖ στρατηγῷ  
 ΤΤΤΓΗΙ - - - |

Ἀχσίοχος εἶπε : ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις τοῖς ἀπὸ [Θράκης,  
 40 ὡς ἀνδράσιν γενομένοις ἀγαθοῖς] || ἐς τε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὴμ πόλιν  
 τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ὅτ[ι ἐς Θάσον παρεγένοντο πανδημεὶ συνπολιορ]-  
 κήσοντες μετὰ Ἀθηναίων : καὶ ὅτι χσυνναυμαχοῦντ[ες αὐτοῖς] καὶ  
 [συνπολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν τὸν πά]ντα χρόνον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅτι εὔ  
 ποιούσιν Ἀθηναίους· καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων [τῶν εὐεργετημάτων ἅπαντα  
 παρὰ Ἀ]θηναίων εἶναι αὐτοῖς καθ' ἅπερ ἐφσθήφισται Σ[ερμυλι]ε[ῖδος]·  
 ὅπως ἂμ μ[ὴ ἀδικῶνται μηδὲ ὑφ' ἐνὸς μήτ]ε ἐπὶ ἰδιώτου μήτε ἐπὶ  
 κοινοῦ πόλεως, τοὺς τε σ[τρατηγού]ς, οἱ ἂν ἐκάστοτε ἄ[ρχοντες  
 45 τυγχάνωσιν, ἐπιμέ]λλεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅ,τι ἂν δέωνται : καὶ τοὺς ἄρχ-  
 [οντ]ας τοὺς Ἀθηναίων, οἱ ἂν ἐκ[άστοτε ἄρχωσι τῶν συμμάχ]ων, τῇμ  
 πόλιν Νεοπολίτας φυλάττουντ[ας] καὶ προθύμους ὄντας ποιεῖν ὅ,τι ἂν  
 [δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. Εἶναι δὲ] | καὶ νῦν εὐρίσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ τ[οῦ  
 δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὅ,τι ἂν δοκῇ ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο ὅ,τι ἂν δέωνται :  
 περὶ | δὲ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τῇ Παρθένῳ, ἥ[περ κ]αὶ τέως ἐγίγνετο τῇ  
 [θε]ῷ, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ [διασκεφσασθαι πρὸς αὐ]τούς. Ἐς δὲ τὸ φσθή-  
 φισμα τὸ πρό[τερον ἐ]πανορθῶσαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς : [καὶ  
 50 ἐκκολάφσαντα μεταγρ]άφσαι ἀντὶ τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Θασί]ων·  
 ὅτι συνδιεπολέμησαν τὸμ πόλεμον μ[ετὰ Ἀθηναίων] : τοῖς δὲ πρέ-  
 σβεσι . . . .αι : καὶ Γ [ . . . . . καὶ . . . ]οφάντωι : ἐπαινέσαι ἅτε νῦν  
 λέγουσιν κ[αὶ πράττουσιν ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ] Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν χσυνμμάχων  
 καὶ ὅτι πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιεῖν ὅ,τι δύνανται ἀγαθὸν τῇν τε πόλιν καὶ  
 τῇν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον καθ' ἅπερ τὸ πρότερον· καλέσαι δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανείον].|

[ . . . . . εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ] βουλῇ· τῇ δὲ  
 55 Παρθένῳ ἐχσαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπαρχήν, ἥ[περ <καὶ> τέως || ἐγίγνετο  
 τῇ θεῷ, ἐπειδὴν ὁ κήρυξ εὐ[φρόνως εἶ]χεται.

Two decrees are here united under a common title (ll. 1-3).  
 The first (ll. 4-38), passed in the winter of 410-9 (from No. 83,

l. 14 we know that the tribe Leontis held the sixth *πρυτανεία* in that year), praises the Neopolitans for services, military and financial, rendered to the Athenian cause. The second (ll. 39-58) confirms this praise, awards to the Neopolitans the privileges already granted to the Sermlyians (l. 43), makes provision for their protection (ll. 43-6), orders the correction in the previous decree of a phrase which had apparently wounded their susceptibilities (ll. 49, 50), and leaves the ecclesia to answer their request that the ἀπαρχή hitherto paid to Athena might in future be paid to their own Παρθένος. In a rider (ll. 54, 55) to this decree the Athenians grant the request.

The Νεοπολίται οἱ παρὰ Θάσον (ll. 2, 6) or οἱ ἀπὸ [Θράκης] (l. 39) inhabited the city of Νεάπολις or Νέα πόλις (l. 35: this, not Νεόπολις, is the correct form), also called for greater precision Νεάπολις ἐν Θράκῃ or Ν. παρ' Ἀντισσίδραν (*S.E.G.* v. p. 34). It lay on the Thracian coast, to the north of Thasos, on the site of the modern port of Cavalla, and was the first place on the European mainland to be visited by St. Paul (Acts xvi. 11).

In 412-1 B.C. Thasos revolted from Athens, shortly after the overthrow of its democracy by Diitrephes (Thuc. viii. 64): it was recovered by Thrasybulus in 408 (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 9, Diod. xiii. 72. 1). The historians do not mention Neapolis in connexion with these events, but this inscription proves that it remained loyal to Athens throughout, successfully withstood a siege (ll. 7, 8), and later aided Thrasybulus in the siege of Thasos which led to its capitulation (ll. 40-2).

The date of the second decree is uncertain. The prescript is omitted, save for the name of the proposer, Axiochus, uncle of Alcibiades, who was banished in 414 for complicity in the desecration of the mysteries (Andoc. i. 16; his name occurs repeatedly in the sale-lists of the confiscated property of the Hermocopidae, for which see No. 79) but returned later to Athens, perhaps together with his nephew. The expression *συνδιεπολέμησαν τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων* inserted in the first decree (l. 7) by order of the second (l. 50) suggests that Axiochus' bill followed the recapture of Thasos, and this is confirmed by the phrase *τὸν πάντα χρόνον* (ll. 41, 42).

A few minor points may be noted. For the construction of *ἐπαινέω* with the dative (ll. 6, 39, 51) see *G.A.I.* 211; for the spelling *πόλῃ* (l. 35), *ibid.* 137. In l. 9 Bannier (*Phil. Woch.* xxxvii. 93) restores ἀ[ποικίαν Θασίων, and this is accepted in *I.G.*; I do not understand it. In l. 19 Σε[ρρείου], a Thracian headland (*R.E.* ii A. 1744), is tentatively restored by F. von Hiller. For τέλεσι τοῖς Νεοπολιτῶν (ll. 34, 35) cf. No. 32, l. 26 and note. Οινόβιος (l. 38) is probably the same who is said (Paus. i. 23. 9) to have carried a motion for the recall of Thucydides. For Athenian ἄρχοντες in allied cities cf. No. 90 and note. In ll. 48, 55 ἡ θεός is Athena. Probably Neapolis had, like Methone (No. 61, l. 29 ff.), been exempted from the payment of tribute except the ἀπαρχή (cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 216. i. 50 f.), and when, in 414 B.C., tribute was commuted for an *ad valorem* duty on sea-borne commerce (Thuc. vii. 28. 4), Neapolis seems to have retained its exemption subject to the continued payment of the ἀπαρχή. They now ask and receive permission to devote this to their local goddess, and prayers are offered (l. 55) to deprecate any ill-feeling on the part of Athena. L. 49 indicates that ὅτι Θασίων ἄποικοι ὄντες καὶ, or some such phrase, originally stood in l. 7: the Neopolitans, anxious to sweep away every record of their connexion with Thasos (cf. the attitude of the Amphipolitans, Thuc. v. 11), asked that this should be erased and a reference to their loyalty to Athens inserted in its place.

## 85

## Athenian Administration of Delos: 410-9 B.C.

White marble stele, found at Delos.

Ionic letters, στοιχηδόν.

Hicks-Hill, 76+

Θεοί. | Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες οἷδε | Θεο . . . os  
 5 Νεο . . . ο . . . || Ἀψεφίων Ἀψιθύλλου, | Δημόκριτος [Φ]ανίου, | Ὀλυμπι-  
 ὁδωρος Τελεσίου | ἐπὶ Γλανκίππου Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντας, ἐν Δήλῳ  
 10 ἐπὶ Ἀπημά|ντου ἄρχοντας. Ἀργύριον πα|ρελάβομεν παρ' Ἀμφικτύ-  
 ο|νων Θεαγγέλου Φηγα[έ]ως καὶ συναρχόντων καὶ νεωκόρων | Δηλίων

15 [Σ]κ[υ]λ[α]κ[ος] καὶ συνα||ρχόντων ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ἱερ[ῶ]ι καὶ τ[ῶ]ι Ἀρτεμισίωι.  
Κεφάλαιον· | 44XXΓHHHΠ - - -

Of the remainder only isolated words and letters are legible.

For the Athenian administration of the Delian sanctuaries of Apollo (τὸ ἱερόν *par excellence*, l. 15) and Artemis (l. 16) see No. 54 and notes. The four Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες of the year of Glaucippus here acknowledge the receipt of the sacred moneys, amounting to about 20 talents 2850 drachmas, from their predecessors, with whom are associated an unknown number of Delian νεωκόροι (ll. 13, 14).

## 86

## Phrynichus' Assassins honoured: 409 B.C.

Six fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble, found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν (except ll. 1, 2).

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 110+ Roberts-Gardner, 24; Janell, 22.

- [Ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρ]χον[τ]ος. | [Δόβων ἐκ] Κηδῶν ἐγραμμάτενε. |  
[Ἐδοχσεν τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμωι, Ἱπποθωντὶ[s] ἐπρυτάνε]νε,  
5 Δόβων ἐγραμμάτενε, Φιλιστίδῃ[s] ἐπεστάτει, Γλαύκιππος ἦρχε:  
Ἐρασινίδης εἶπ[ε]· ἔπαινέσα|ι Θρασύβουλον ὥς ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸ[ν]  
περὶ τὸν δῆ|μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμον π[οι]εῖν ὅ,τι δύνα]ται  
ἀγαθόν· καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεπο[ί]ηκεν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν δῆ[μο]ν τὸν  
10 Ἀθηναίων||ν στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στε[φ]άνωι, ποιήσα[ι] δὲ τὸν  
στέφανον ἀπὸ χιλίων δρ[α]χμῶν· οἱ [δὲ] Ἑλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ  
ἀργύριον· καὶ ἀνείπ[ε]ιν Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει τῶι ἀγῶνι ὧν ἐν-  
[ε]κα αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσ]ε·  
15 Διοκλῆς εἶπε· ||τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ]· εἶναι δὲ  
Θρασύ[βουλον] Ἀθηναῖον, φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ὧ[ν] ἂν  
βούληται ἀπογραφάμενον· καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐ[φ]ηφισμένα τῶι δήμωι  
κύρια εἶ[ναι] Θρασυβούλω[ι], εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῶι π[α]ρὰ Ἀθη-  
20 ναίων κ[αὶ] ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ἕαν του δέηται π[ε]ρὶ ὧν εὐηργ[ε]τηκεν τὸν  
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ἀναγράφσα[ι] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὰ δεδο-  
γμ[έ]να· ἐλέσθαι δ[ὲ] ἐγ. βουλῆς πέντε ἄνδρας αὐτ[ῶ]ν κα μάλ', οἵτινε[s]  
25 δι[κ]άσουσι Θρασυβούλωι τὸ μέρος τὸ γιγνόμενον· τοὺς [δὲ] ἄλλους,  
ὅσοι τότε εὖ ἐ[π]οίησαν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, - 10 -]ιν καὶ

Ἀγόρατον καὶ Κόμωνα [καὶ - 13 -] καὶ Σίμον καὶ Φιλῖνον καὶ - 8 -]α,  
 ἐνεργέ[τα]ς [ἀ]ναγράφ[σαι ἐμ πόλει ἐν στήλῃ λ]ιθίνῃ τὸν γραμ[μα]-  
 30 τέ[α τῆ]ς βουλῆς· [καὶ ἔγκτησι]ν εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὅμπερ | Ἀθηναίους,  
 [καὶ γηπέδω]ν καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ οἰκησ[ι]ν Ἀθήνησι, [καὶ ἐπιμέλ]εσθαι  
 αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν | τὴν αὐεὶ βουλευέουσαν καὶ τοὺς πυρτάνεις,  
 35 ὅπως ἀ]ν μὴ ἀδ[ικῶνται· τὴν δὲ σ]τήλην ἀπομισθωσάντω[ι]ν· οἱ  
 πωληταὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνοταμ[ί]ας δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον·  
 ἔαν δὲ δοκῇ αὐτὸς καὶ | ἄλλου ἄχσιος ἀγαθοῦ, τὴν] βουλήν προβου-  
 λεύσασαν | [ἐχσευεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμ]ον :

Εὐδίκος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν | [ἄλλα καθάπερ Διοκλῆς· περὶ] δὲ τῶν  
 40 δωροδοκησ[ι]ν[ων ἐπὶ τῷ φσηφίσματι], ὃ ἐφσηφ[ί]σθη Ἀπολλ[ο]-  
 δώρῳ, τὴν βουλήν βουλευ[ε]σθαι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐδ[ο]ραι ἐν τῷ βουλευ-  
 τηρ[ί]ῳ, καὶ κολάζειν τῶν [δ]ωρο[δοκησάντων καταφσ]ηφιζομένην, καὶ  
 45 ἐς δικασ[τῆ]ριον αὐτοὺς ἐσάγειν, καθότι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῇ[ι]· τ[ο]ὺς δὲ  
 πέντε ἄνδρας] παρόντας ἀποφαίνειν ἄ[ττ'] | ἂν εἰδῶσιν, καὶ ἔαν] τίς τι  
 ἄλλο εἰδῇ περὶ τ[ού]των· ἐχσεῖναι δὲ καὶ] ἰδιώτῃ, ἔαν τις βού-  
 λητα[ι].

The restorations given above are not all certain. In ll. 22-3 Bannier's suggestion (*Phil. Woch.* xliii. 835) is accepted in place of Michel's ἑλέσθαι δ[ὲ] τὸν δῆμον τρεῖς ἄνδρας : in ll. 42, 44-5 I. M. J. Valetton proposes (*Hermes*, xliii. 481 ff.) τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ and τ[ο]ὺς δὲ Ἀρειοπαγίτα[ς] : 1, 16 as restored contains 38 letters instead of the normal 36.

The assassination of Phrynichus upon his return from a mission to Sparta in the autumn of 411 B.C. heralded the fall of the Four Hundred. Thucydides states (viii. 92. 2) that he was struck down in the market-place near the Council House by one of the περίπολοι, who made his escape ; his accomplice, an Argive, when caught and tortured, refused to divulge the names of the conspirators but maintained that they were numerous. Lysias says (xiii. 71) : Φρυνίχῳ . . . κοινῇ Θρασύβουλός τε ὁ Καλυδώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπεβούλευσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπετυχέτην αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι, ὁ μὲν Θρασύβουλος τύπτει τὸν Φρυνίχον καὶ καταβάλλει πατάξας, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος οὐχ ἤψατο, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ κραυγὴ γίνεται καὶ ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. According to Lysurgus (*Leocr.* 112) Phrynichus was murdered νύκτωρ παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσούοις by Apollodorus and Thrasybulus, who were seized and imprisoned by Phrynichus' friends but were rescued by the people.

The document before us comprises three parts:

I. A decree (ll. 3-14) passed on the proposal of Erasinides, almost certainly the same who, as *στρατηγός*, was in joint command at Arginusae in 406 and was subsequently tried and executed (Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 29, 7. 2, 34, Philochorus fr. 121 in *F.H.G.* i. 403). The decree, dated in the eighth prytany (with l. 3 cf. No. 83, l. 27) of Glaucippus' archonship, i.e. in the spring of 409 B.C., praises Thrasybulus for his loyalty to the *δῆμος* and grants him a golden crown, the award of which is to be proclaimed at the City Dionysia. We are not told why some nineteen months have been allowed to elapse between the service and its reward.

II. A rider (ll. 14-38), added on the proposal of Diocles, grants to Thrasybulus citizenship, the confirmation of privileges previously bestowed on him (perhaps not by name), a prospect of further benefits, and a share in the property of his victim; to seven of his fellow-conspirators, among whom is Agoratus (l. 26), lesser honours and rights are awarded. Lysias (xiii. 70 ff.) appeals to this decree to refute Agoratus' claim to have murdered Phrynichus and to have been rewarded with Athenian citizenship, and affirms that he and his companions had bribed Diocles to move this part of his rider, which, it would appear, was subsequently cancelled by a further decree cited by the orator (xiii. 72).

III. A second rider (ll. 38-47), added on the motion of Eudicus, orders an inquiry into the bribery alleged to have been used to secure a decree in favour of Apollodorus, who, Lysias tells us, had received citizenship (xiii. 72) and a plot of ground which had belonged to Pisander (vii. 4). Whether the inquiry was held and with what result, we do not know: Apollodorus retained the property (and therefore presumably also the citizenship) until shortly before the rule of the Thirty, when he sold it to Anticles (vii. 4).

## 87

## Republication of Draco's Law of Homicide: 409-8 B.C.

Stele of Pentellic marble, formerly near the Cathedral at Athens; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic script; the aspirate-sign is omitted, except in ll. 12-26. Στοιχηδόν, except ll. 1, 2, 10.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 115+ Roberts-Gardner, 25; Hill, *Sources*, v. 75 (cf. p. 487). Cf. Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 139, 159, 224; G. Smith, *Cl. Phil.* xix. 353 ff. (*S.E.G.* iii. 19). Some further references are given in Hicks-Hill, 78.

Διόγν[η]τος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτε[νε].

Διοκλῆς ἦρχε.

[Ε]δοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[ι]· Ἀκα[μ]αντ[ι]ς ἐπρυτάνευε, [Δι]όγ[η]τος ἐγραμμάτενε, Εὐθ(ύ)δικος ἐπεσ[τά]τει, [Χσ]ε[νοφ]άνης  
5 ε[ἶ]πε· [τ]ό[ν] || Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ τοῦ φό[ν]ου ἀν[α]γραφ[α]-  
σά[ν]τ[ων] οἱ ἀν[α]γρ[α]φῆς τῶν νόμων παραλαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ κ[α]τὰ  
πρυτανείαν γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κα[ὶ] κ[α]τ[α]-  
[θ]έ[ν]τ[ων] πρόσθεν τῆ[ς] στο[ί]ας τῆς βασιλείας· οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἀ[π]ο-  
μ[ισ]θωσάντων κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ο]ν, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀργύ-  
ριον].||

- 10 Πρώτος ἄχσων. Καὶ ἔαμ [μ]ῇ' κ [π]ρονο[ί]ας [κ]τ[ε]ίνη τίς τινα,  
φεύγειν, δι[κ]άζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτ[ι]ώ[ν] φόνου] ἢ [ἐάν τις  
αἰτιάται ὡς βου]λεύσαντα· τοὺς [δ]ὲ ἐφέτας διαγν[ώ]ναι. Αἰδέ-  
σασθαι δ', ἔαμ μὲν πατήρ] ἢ ἢ ἀδελφός] ἢ ὕψ, ἀπα[ν]τας, ἢ τὸν  
15 κ[ω]λύοντα κρατεῖν· ἐάν δὲ μὴ ὅ[υ]τοι ὧσ[ι], μ[ε]λέ[χ]ο' ἀν[ε]φ[σι]ότ[η]τος  
καὶ ἀνεφσιού, ἐάν ἅπαντες αἰδέσασθαι ἐθέλωσ[ι], τὸν ὅ[ρ]κον  
[δ]ομόσαντας· ἐάν δὲ τούτων μὴδ' εἰς ἡ, κτεί[ν]η δὲ ἄκω[ν], γν[ώ]σ[ι]  
δὲ [οἱ πεν]τήκοντα καὶ εἰς οἱ ἐφέται ἄκοντα] κτεῖναι, ἐσέσθ[ω]ν  
δέκ[α] οἱ φράτερες ἐάν ἐθέλωσιν· τούτους δὲ [οἱ] πεντήκο[ν]τ[α] καὶ  
20 εἰς ἀρ[ι]σ[τ]ίδην αἰρεῖσθων. καὶ οἱ πρότε[ρ]ο[ν] κτεί[ν]αυτες ἐν  
τῷ[δε] τῷ θεσμῷ ἐνεχέσθων. Προειπεῖν δὲ τῷ κτεί[ν]αντι ἐν  
ἀγορ[ᾷ] ἐντ[ό]ς ἀνεφσιότητος καὶ ἀνεφσιού· συνδιώκειν | δὲ [καὶ  
ἀνε]φ[σι]οὺς καὶ ἀνεφσιῶν παῖδας καὶ γαμβροὺς καὶ πενθεροὺς [κ]αὶ  
φράτ[ε]ρ[ας] - 39 - ] ιος . . φο . . . . . φ [- 21 - τοὺς πεντήκοντα  
25 καὶ] || ἕνα [- 42 - φ]όνον | ἐλ[ω]σ[ι] - 35 - ἐάν δέ τις τ[ό]ν ἀνδροφόνον  
κτεῖνη ἢ αἷτιος ἢ φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς [ἐ]φ[ο]ρί[ας] καὶ ἄλλων  
καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα, ἐν τοῖς



30 αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι διαγιγνώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφ'ἑτα[s. || Τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρο-  
φόνους ἐχσεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν] τῇ[ε] ἡμε[δ]απῇ, λυμαί-  
εσθαι δὲ μή, μηδὲ ἀποιναῦ, ἣ διπλοῦν ὀφείλειν ὅσ[ο]ν [ἀν κ]αταβλά-  
φῃ. - -

I omit the few surviving letters of the last sixteen lines of the inscription, which are incapable of restoration save for the phrases ἀρχοντ]α χε[ρ]ῶν ἀδίκων (ll. 33-4: cf. Plato, *Laios*, 869c) and καὶ ἐὰν φέροντα ἢ ἀγοντα βίαι ἀδίκως εὐδὺς ἀμυνόμενος κτ[είνη, νηποινεῖ τεθνάναι (ll. 37-8: cf. Dem. xxiii. 60), and the word μετ[ε]στ[ε]ρ[ε]ς (ll. 47-8: cf. Dem. xxiii. 62).

After the fall of the Four Hundred, a commission of *συγγραφεῖς* was appointed for the revision of the laws, together with a body of *ἀναγραφεῖς* for their due publication (cf. Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 1538, *Gr. St.* 910). Among the latter was Nicomachus, of whom Lysias asserts that προσταχθέν αὐτῷ τεττάρων μηνῶν ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος, ἀντὶ μὲν Σόλωνος αὐτὸν νομοθέτην κατέστησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τεττάρων μηνῶν ἐξέτη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν ἀργύριον λαμβάνων τοὺς μὲν ἐνέγραφε τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλειφεν (xxx. 2: cf. 17, 25). A stage in their work was marked by the present decree of Xenophanes, who was perhaps a *συγγραφεύς*, instructing the *ἀναγραφεῖς* to obtain the text of Draco's law of homicide and set up an engraved copy of it before the στοὰ βασιλεία. That this was done our inscription proves, but the rest of the work hung fire, and in 403 Tisamenus carried a decree πολιτεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος, καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς οἷσπερ ἐχρώμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ (Andoc. i. 83).

C. Schaefer (*De scribis senatus populi que Atheniensium*, 15) proposed in l. 6 παρὰ τοῦ [βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ γραμμ]ατέως (cf. No. 88, l. 30), but traces of a κ are visible after παρὰ τοῦ. For the Athenian Secretaries of State see Schulthess in *R.E.* vii. 1710 ff. and M. Brillant, *Les secrétaires athéniens* (Paris, 1911). For the exhibition of laws in the στοὰ βασιλεία cf. Andoc. i. 82, εἴτ' ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τούτους τῶν νόμων οἳ ἂν δοκιμασθῶσι, and Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 7. 1, ἀναγράφαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

Aristotle states that under Solon the Athenians τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν (Ἀθ. πολ.

7. 1; cf. Plut. *Solon*, 17); but the opening phrase καὶ ἐὰν μὴ (l. 11) indicates that part of the Draconian regulations—that, no doubt, which dealt with premeditated murder—had been repealed.

The penalty for unpremeditated murder is exile: the βασιλεις (l. 12)—which term almost certainly includes both the ἀρχων βασιλεύς and the φυλοβασιλεις ('Ath. πολ. 57. 4)—conduct the inquiry, and the ἐφέται serve as the jury (l. 13).

Lines 13–23, dealing with the conditions of reconciliation, the retrospective validity of the law, and the degrees of relationship permitting, or rather demanding, the prosecution of the slayer, have been restored, principally by U. Köhler (*Hermes*, ii. 27 ff.), in the light of [Dem.] xliii. 57, where these clauses recur with some dislocations, errors, and omissions. Ἐσέσθων (l. 18) = 'admit', 'allow to enter (Attica)'.

The following lines (23–26) are too mutilated to be capable of restoration, but may have contained (cf. Köhler, *op. cit.* 34) the clause paraphrased in [Dem.] xlvii. 72.

Lines 26–32 contain clauses quoted in Dem. xxiii. 37 and 28, relating to the killing of a murderer; though but few letters are extant, they suffice to show that the copies inserted in the text of Demosthenes are derived from the stone and have not been compiled from the orator's quotations and discussion.

The remaining paragraphs deal, *inter alia*, with accidental and justifiable homicide and prescribe penalties for any frustration or alteration of the law (Dem. xxiii. 53, 60, 62).

For the Athenian law of homicide see G. Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities*, 379 ff., G. Busolt, *G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 225 ff., *Gr. St.* 530 f., 807 ff., J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, 3 ff., 121 ff., 600 ff., A. Ledl, *Studien zur älteren athensischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, 322 ff., G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Hesiod to Solon*, 44 ff., 'Dicastis in the Ephetic Courts' in *Cl. Phil.* xix. 353 ff.

## 88

## Athens ratifies a Treaty with Selymbria: 408 B.C.

Five fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the S. slope of the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic writing, with frequent lapses into Ionic (Ω occurs thrice, Η = η six times, Λ = λ four times). Not στοιχηδόν.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 116 + Roberts-Gardner, 26; Hill, *Sources*, i. 139, 152 (cf. p. 425), 182, v. 50. Cf. Hitzig, *Altgr. Staatsv.* No. 5; Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* i. 158, note 31.

(Fragments a, b, c, e.)

----- ἀν ἐπαγ[γέλλωσ]ι 'Αθην[αίω]ι --- κ[α]τάλογον κατ . . |  
 - c. 20 - 'ο[ὐ]μήρους δὲ 'οὐς ἐχ[ουσ]ιν 'Αθηναῖοι ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ δὲ λ[οιπὸν]  
 5 μὴ λαμβάν[ει]ν καταστήσασθαι δὲ Σηλυμβ[ριαν]οὺς τῇμ πολ[ι]τείαν  
 αὐτονόμους τρόπῳ 'ὅτῳ ἀν ἐπίστωντ[αι]. Δίκας δὲ εἶναι περὶ ὧν  
 ὥφειλε τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ση[λυμβριαν]ῶν ἢ ἰδιωτῶν τ[ῶν] Σηλυμβ[ριαν]ῶν  
 10 τοῖ[ς] πρόσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ εἴ του χρήματα ἐδεδήμε[ν]το ἢ εἴ τις τῷ  
 κοινῷ ὥφειλεν ἢ εἴ τις ἡτίμωτ[ο] κάθοδον δ' εἶναι τοῖς φεύγουσι  
 Σηλυμβριανῶν [ἡ]γουμένους τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολέμους δὲ καὶ φίλους |  
 [τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει]. ἃ δὲ ἀπώλετο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ [χρήματα 'Αθη-  
 15 ναίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων ἢ εἴ τι ὀφείλ[ο]μενον ἢ παρακ[αταθ]ήκη  
 ἔχοντός του ἔπραχσα[ν] οἱ ἄρχοντες, μὴ εἶναι πᾶσιν πλὴν γῆς καὶ  
 οἰ[κίας]· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα χονυμβόλαια προτοῦ ἦν τοῖς ἰ[διώταις] πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἰδιώτας] ἢ ἰδιώτῃ πρὸς τὸ κ[οινὸν] ἢ τῷ κοινῷ πρὸς ἰδιώτῃ[ν]  
 20 ἢ ἑάν τι ἄ[λλο] γίγ[νηται], διαλύειμ[εν] πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅ,τι δ' ἀν  
 ἀμφισβῆ[ται] τῶσι, δίκας εἶναι ἀπὸ χονυμβολῶν. Τὰς δὲ χονυθῆκ[ας]  
 ἀναγράφ[ουσας] ἐς στήλην θείναι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸ[ν] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος].  
 "Ω[μ]οσαν Ἀθηναίων οἱ στρατηγοὶ | [καὶ οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ  
 25 ὁπλῖται καὶ εἴ τι] ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων π[αρήν], καὶ Σηλυμβ[ριαν]οὶ  
 π[ᾶν]τε[s].

'Αλ[κίβι]αδης εἶπε· καθὰ χονυθέντο Ση[λυμβριαν]οὶ πρὸς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, | καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐ[ν] πόλ[ει] ἀναγράφ[ουσας]  
 30 τὸν στ[ρατηγόν] τ[ῶν] συνθήκ[ας] μετὰ τοῦ γραμματέως τ[ῶν] βουλευτῶν  
 - c. 18 -] ἐν στήλῃ λιθί[νῃ] τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῶν, κ[αὶ] τὸ φσήφισμα  
 τόδε. | [Ἀπολλόδορον δὲ τὸν Ἐμπέδου ἐπαινέσαι καὶ ἀφείν[αι]  
 αὐτὸν τ[ῶν] ὀμφρείας καὶ [ἐ]χθαλείφσαι τὰ ὀνόμα[τα] τῶν ὀμφ[ρ]ῶν  
 35 τῶν Σηλυμβ[ριαν]ῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγγυ[ν]τῶν αὐτῶν αὐρίων τῶν γραμ-

[μα]τέα τῆς βουλῆς, [δ]π[ό]σοι εἰς] ἡ γεγραμμένοι, ἐναντίον τῶν πρυ-  
 τάνε[ων] . . . .]όμαχον δὲ τὸν Σηλυμβ[ρια]νὸν ἀναγρ[άφσαι ἐν τ]ῇ  
 αὐτῇ στήλῃ προ[χσε]νον Ἀ[θηναίων] | [εἶναι δὲ καὶ] Ἀπολλοδώρῳ  
 40 τῇμ προ[χσε]νίαν, κα[ὶ] [θάπερ τῶι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ] τοὺς δὲ πρέσβ[εις καὶ]  
 Ἀπολ[λό]δωρον κ[αλ]έσαι ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐ[πὶ χσέν]ια ἐ[ἰ]ς αὐριον].

Fragment *d* contains only a few letters and need not be republished here.

Selymbria (the modern Silivri, on the north shore of the Propontis) figures in the tribute quota-lists from 451-0 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 194. iv, 14) down to 430-29 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 218. iii, 19; for the date cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 222, note 16). In 410 it refused to admit Alcibiades, but paid him a sum of money (*Xen. Hell.* i. 1. 21). In 409 he captured the city, assisted by traitors within the walls: Plutarch gives a vivid picture of the courage which he displayed on this occasion (*Alcib.* 30; cf. *Xen. Hell.* i. 3. 10, *Diod.* xiii. 66. 4). A treaty was then drawn up, which all the Selymbrians and all the Athenians on the spot swore to observe (ll. 23-26): this was formally ratified by the δῆμος in 408, on the motion of Alcibiades himself (l. 26). Cf. No. 89.

The document before us consists of two parts, (I) the treaty proper (ll. 1-26), of which the beginning is lost, and (II) the decree confirming the treaty (ll. 26-42).

I. The treaty, so far as it is extant and intelligible, comprises eight clauses.

(a) All hostages shall be returned and none taken in future (ll. 3-5).

(b) Selymbria shall enjoy complete autonomy (ll. 5-7).

(c) All claims brought by or against returning exiles shall be settled by legal process (ll. 7-11).

(d) All exiles shall be restored (ll. 11-13).

(e) Only real property can be reclaimed by Athenians and their allies (ll. 13-17).

(f) Previous business contracts shall be settled by agreement, or, failing that, by δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν (ll. 17-21). For ξυμβόλαια and ξυμβολαί see No. 32.

(g) This treaty shall be recorded in the temple of Apollo at Selymbria (ll. 21-23).

(h) Record of the oaths (ll. 23-26).

II. The decree was passed during Alcibiades' visit to Athens in summer, 408 B.C. By it the treaty is ratified (ll. 26, 27) and published (ll. 28-31), the names of the Selymbrian hostages are deleted (ll. 32-37), and individual Selymbrians are rewarded (ll. 37-42).

In l. 30 some 17 or 18 letters have been erased. For τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτῶν (l. 31) cf. No. 32, l. 26 and note.

## 89

### Athenian Treaty with the Clazomenians at Daphnus:

408 B.C.

Upper part of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on the N. slope of the Acropolis; now in the National Museum at Athens.

Ionic writing, στοιχηδόν. Phot. in Έφ. Άρχ. 1898, Pl. I.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 117 + Cf. G. C. Richards, J.H.S. xviii. 329.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ[ι καὶ τ]ῷ δήμ[ωι, Ἀντιοχίς ἐ]πρυτάνευε,  
Κράτης ἐγραμμ[άτευε, Ἐπιγέ]ν[η]ς ἐπεσάτει, Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰπ[ε· τὰς  
5 ξυνθήκ]α[s, ἃς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ[οῖς οἰκίσασ]||ι Δαφνούτα,  
εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]||να, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί,  
καὶ ἀνα]γράφαι τὸν γραμματ[έα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ] | λιθῶνι ἐμ  
[πόλει τὰς τε ξυνθήκας καὶ τὸ ψή]φισμα τόδε - - ]

This decree, moved by Alcibiades on his return to Athens, probably in the summer of 408 (Busolt, *G.G.* iii. 1529 ff., 1562), confirms the treaty previously made by the Athenian generals with the Clazomenians settled at Daphnus: of the treaty itself, the date of which is unknown, a small fragment survives in *I.G.* ii<sup>1</sup>. 99 (see *S.E.G.* iii. 20). For a similar ratification on Alcibiades' proposal see No. 88.

In the early summer of 412 Alcibiades and Chalcideus brought about the defection of Clazomenae from Athens (Thuc. viii. 14. 3), but the city was soon recovered and the

instigators of the revolt departed to Daphnus, a little way inland (*ib.* 23. 6). Shortly afterwards Astyochus appeared off Clazomenae and invited it to rejoin the Spartans, allowing the party friendly to Athens to settle at Daphnus; but his overtures were rejected and his subsequent attack proved fruitless (*ib.* 31. 2, 3).

The prytanizing tribe (l. 1) must, on epigraphical grounds, be Erechtheis, Cecropis, or Antiochis. I restore *Ἀντιοχίς* because, as Professor West points out to me, it alone of the three tribes in question *ἐπρυτάνευε* while Alcibiades was at Athens in the summer of 408. Indeed, it held that position twice in succession, at the close of 409-8 and at the beginning of 408-7; of these two occasions the earlier must be referred to here, for during the later Euclides was secretary (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 118). If, however, Alcibiades' return to Athens be dated, with Beloch (*G.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2. 250 ff.) and others, in 407, we should probably restore *Ἐρεχθίς*, which held office in the last prytany of 408-7 and the second of 407-6, though *Ἀντιοχίς* or *Κεκροπίς* would be possible alternatives if either of them functioned in the first prytany of 407-6. It is, however, likely that Alcibiades would secure the ratification of this treaty and of that with Selymbria (No. 88) soon after his arrival at Athens.

In l. 2 the engraver wrote *Ἐπιγένης ἐγραμμάρεε* and then, realizing his error, erased the name and substituted *Κράτης*: there can be little doubt that Epigenes—probably the same who was secretary to the *ραμίαι* of Athena in 420-19 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 266. 78) and who proposed the publication of the report on the Erechtheum (i<sup>2</sup>. 372. 5)—was *ἐπιστάτης* when this decree was passed. The use of the plural *ξυνθήκας* in l. 3 does not indicate the conclusion of more than one pact; the singular *ξυνθήκη*, though occasionally used by Thucydides, does not occur in any fifth-century Attic inscription.

## 90

## Oeniades honoured at Athens : 408-7 B.C.

A stele of Pentelie marble, found on the Acropolis ; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Ionic alphabet, στοιχιδόν. Phot. in Kern, I.G. 18.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 118+ Janell, 20. Cf. R. Laqueur, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, 6.

Θεοί. | 'Εδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. | 'Αντιοχίς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 5 Εὐκλείδης ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἱεροκλῆς ἐπεστάτει, Εὐκτῆμων ἥρχε, |  
 Διειτρέφης εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ ἀγαθὸς Οἰνιάδης ὁ Παλ|αισκιά-  
 10 θιος περὶ τὴν πόλιν τῇν 'Αθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμος πο||εῖν ὅ,τι δύναται  
 ἀγαθόν, καὶ εἴ ποιεῖ τὸν ἀφικνούμενον 'Αθη|ναίων ἐ' Σκίαθον, ἐπαινέ-  
 15 σαι τ|ε αὐτῶι καὶ ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν | πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην 'Αθη||-  
 15 ναίων καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ, κ|αὶ ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἀδικῆται ἐπιμέ|λεσθαι  
 τήν τε βουλὴν τὴν αἰεὶ β|ουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγ|οὺς καὶ τὸν  
 20 ἄρχοντα τὸν ἐν Σκι||άθῳι ὃς ἂν ᾖ ἡ ἐκάστοτε· τὸ δὲ ψ|ίφισμα τὸδε  
 ἀναγράψαι τὸν γ|ραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κατα-  
 25 θεῖναι ἐμ|πόλει· καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπ||ὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς  
 α|ῦριον.

'Αντιχάρης εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐς δ[ὲ τ]ῇγ  
 30 γνώμην μεταγράψαι αὐτ[ὸν] τοῦ 'Σ|κιάθιου' ὅπως ἂν ᾖ γεγραμ-  
 μένον] 'Οἰνιάδην τὸν Παλαισ|κιάθιον'.

The loyal service of Oeniades in his native island was rewarded by the Athenians with commendation, the hereditary titles of πρόξενος and εὐεργέτης, and recommendation to the good offices of the Council, the generals, and the Athenian governor in Sciathus (with l. 19 cf. I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 22. 41, 56. 5 οἵτινες 'Αθηναίων ἄρχουσι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίῃ, No. 84, l. 45 τοὺς ἄρχ[οντ]ας τοὺς 'Αθηναίων ὅι ἂν ἐκ[άστοτε] ἄρχωσι τῶν συμμάχ[ων]).

The proposer of this decree may well be the same Diitrephes who in 413 led back to Thrace the mercenaries who arrived too late to take part in the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. vii. 29 ; cf. Paus. i. 23. 3) and in 411 overthrew the Thasian democracy (Thuc. viii. 64).

The probouleuma (called γνώμη in l. 28) had described Oeniades as Σκιάθιος: in the assembly an amendment was carried substituting the term Παλαισκιάθιος (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*

xxxi. 103), and this rider is recorded in full (ll. 26-31), though the necessary modification has been made in l. 7 of the decree (cf. R. Laqueur, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, 6).

For ἐπαυέω with dat. (ll. 12-13) cf. No. 84, ll. 6, 39, 51; No. 91, ll. 51-2.

## 91

## Athens honours Archelaus of Macedonia: 407-6 B.C.

Two fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, of which at least one was found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, στοιχηδόν. Phot. in *Jahresh.* xxi-xxii. 123.

I.G. i<sup>2</sup>. 105 + Roberts-Gardner, 14; Hill, *Sources*, v. 14a (p. 487); Meritt, *A.F.D.* 109 ff. Cf. B. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, 213; W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 281 ff.

[Ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ, Ἀκαμαγνὶς ἐπρυτάνευε,  
 Φελλεὺς ἐργαμ[μ]άτ[ε]υ[ε], Ἀντιγένης ἥρχε, Σιβύρτιος ἐπεστάτ[ει], |  
 5 - 10 - εἶπε· ἐς τὴν πο[ί]ησιν τῶν ν[ε]ῶν δαεῖσαι τοὺς στρατηγούς  
 τ[οῦ]ς μετὰ Π[ε]ρικλέους ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ν[ε]ῶν ὄντων ἀποδεκτῶν  
 τοῖς ναυπηγοῖς· ὃ δ' ἂν δανεί[σ]ωσι, ἀποδόντων αὐτοῖς πάλιν ὅι  
 10 τρι[η]ροποιοί· τοὺς δὲ τεταγμένους πλεῖν ἐπὶ τ[ῇ]ν ἐκπόησιν τῶν  
 ν[ε]ῶν ὥς τάχιστα ἀποστ[ε]ιλάντων ὅι στρατηγοί· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔσαγό-  
 [σθων] προδοσίας ἐς τὸ δῖκαστήριον· ὅι δὲ ἡλιασταὶ περὶ τοῦ μ[ὴ]  
 15 ἐθέλοντος ἀπ[ι]έ[ν]αι κρινόντων. Τῆς δὲ κομιδῆς τῶν ν[ε]ῶν, ἄς  
 ἂν ὅι ναυπηγοὶ ἐγ[ὶ] Μακεδονίας σ[τ]έλλωσι, τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιμ[ε]λ[η]-  
 θῆναι, ὅπως | ἂν σταλῶσιν ὥς τάχιστα Ἀθήνας καὶ π[ρ]οσθῶσι καὶ  
 ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν κομίζηται ἢ [στρατιὰ φυλάχουσα φυ]λακὴν τὴν ἀρίσ-  
 20 τ[ῇ]ν· ἂν δέ τις μὴ ποιήσῃ κατὰ ταῦτα, ὀφείλ[ει]ν μυρίας δραχμὰς  
 αὐτῷ ἱερὰς τῇ Ἀθ[η]ναίᾳ· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐλθόντι καὶ κομ[ι]σα-  
 μένῳ ναῦν δοῦναι δωρεὰν καθα[ρ]ὰ π[ρ]οσθῶσι τῷ δῆμῳ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 25 Ἀρχέλας καὶ ὁ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ ἐστὶν ἀν[η]ρ ἀγαθὸς  
 περὶ Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς τε ἐκπ[ρ]οσώπων Ἀθηναίων ἀνέλ[α]βεν καὶ ἐς  
 τὸ [ἐ]ν Πύδνῃ στρατόπεδον ἀπέπεμψε καὶ | εὖ ἐπόησεν Ἀθη-  
 30 ναίων τ[ὸ] στρατόπεδον κ[αὶ] ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς χυλ[α] καὶ κωπέας καὶ |  
 ἄλλα ὅσων ἐδέοντο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ, ἐπα[ν]έσαι Ἀρχέλαῳ ὥς ὅντι  
 ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ | καὶ προθύμῳ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι δύναται ἀγαθ[ὸ]ν, καὶ ἀνθ'  
 35 ὧν εὐηργέτηκεν τὴν τε πόλιν | καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀναγράφ-  
 σαι αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας προχσένου καὶ ἐυεργέτας ἐμ πόλει ἐ'  
 στήλῃ λιθίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμέλεισθαι αὐτῶν - - -



The restorations given in *I.G.* are mainly due to Wilhelm. In ll. 3-24 I have accepted several modifications suggested by Professor B. D. Meritt, who has kindly allowed me to use the new version which he will shortly publish. In l. 13 I prefer von Hiller's ἡλιασταί to Wilhelm's *πρωτάεις*. In l. 36 I write *παῖδας προχσένου*s (cf. *I.G.* i.<sup>2</sup> 71. 30) in place of the *ἐκγόνους προχένου*s of previous editors, who assume that the engraver used the Ionic letter ξ; and in l. 37 *στήλην λιθίνην* for *στήλην λιθίνην*.

A. Kirchhoff assigned the first fragment (ll. 1-23) to the summer of 428 and regarded the squadron in question as that sent under Cleippides to crush the revolt in Lesbos (Thuc. iii. 3. 2); Busolt (*Philol.* l. 583 ff., *G.G.* iii. 591, 1009 ff., 1640) connected it with the fleet sent to Mytilene later in that year (Thuc. iii. 18. 3) under Paches, whose name he restored in ll. 5, 6. Wilhelm, however, pointed out that the style of the engraving is characteristic of the later years of the Peloponnesian War, and united with the first fragment a second (ll. 25-37), which Loeschke had attributed to 411 and associated with Archelaus of Macedon. Wilhelm restored the archon's name (l. 3) as Θεόπομπος (411-0 B.C.), but Meritt will in his forthcoming work give reasons for substituting Ἀντιγένης (407-6). For the name Φελλεύς (l. 2) cf. *I.G.* ii. 4221.

The decree falls into two well-marked parts. The first (ll. 4-24) provides (a) that Pericles and his fellow-generals shall receive money from the ἀποδέκται and pay it to the shipbuilders for the construction of the requisite ships, and that this loan shall be repaid in due course by the *τριηροποιοί* (ll. 4-9); (b) that the generals shall expedite the sailing of those responsible for building the ships, or be liable to a charge of treason (ll. 9-12); (c) that the ἡλιασταί shall try any one who refuses to go (ll. 12-14); (d) that the Council shall see that the ships so constructed sail at once from Macedonia to Athens and convey a force thence to Ionia (the restoration Ἰωνίαν is probable in the light of the military situation of this year), on pain of a heavy fine (ll. 14-22), and (e) that a prize be awarded to him who first brings a ship [for a similar incentive cf. *S.I.G.* 305. 19 ff.] (ll. 22-24).

The *τριηροποιοί* (l. 8) recur in other fifth-century inscriptions (No. 76, l. 20, *I.G.* i.<sup>2</sup> 73, 122, 294). In the fourth century, and perhaps also in the fifth, the Council annually

chose from its members a board of ten *τριηροποιοί*, to supervise and assist the work of the naval architects elected by the people, to see that the ships were built and delivered according to contract, and to pay the contractors engaged (Busolt, *Gr. St.* 1032, 1065 f., 1129; *Dict. Ant. s.v.* Trierarchia, 458 f.). A *ταμίας τριηροποικῶν* appears in several fourth-century navy-lists (e.g. *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1622. 388, 566) and in Dem. xxii. 17 (where, however, the MSS. read *τριηροποιῶν*).

The remainder of the decree praises Archelaus (with the form *Ἀρχέλας* cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 71. 78), King of Macedonia 413-399 B.C., for his services to an Athenian force (ll. 24-34) and grants to him and to his children the titles of *πρόξενος* and *εὐεργέτης* together with other privileges (ll. 34-38). The restoration of ll. 26-29 is based on Diodorus' account (xiii. 49) of Archelaus' siege of Pydna, in which he was aided by an Athenian squadron under Theramenes, who, however, left before the capture of Pydna to join Thrasybulus and the main fleet in Thrace.

The decree emphasizes the king's gift of *κωπέις* (l. 30; cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 421 f.), the export of which from Macedonia seems to have been a royal prerogative. Andocides, speaking of 411, says *αὐτίκα μὲν τότε εἰσέγαγον εἰς στρατιὰν ὑμῶν οὐσαν ἐν Σάμῳ κωπέας . . . , ὅντος μοι Ἀρχελάου ξένου πατρικοῦ καὶ διδόντος τεμέσθαι τε καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι ὁπόσους ἐβουλόμην* (ii. 11; cf. *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 71. 22). For the importance of the Macedonian timber-supply to the Athenian navy and mercantile marine see also Thuc. iv. 108. 1, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 11, *S.I.G.*<sup>2</sup> 587. 66, 304, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 248N 7.

## 92

## Expenditure of the Treasurers of Athens: 407-6 B.C.

On the reverse of the stone whose obverse bears No. 83 (q.v.).

Developed Attic writing, but the aspirate is everywhere omitted. *Στοιχηδόν*, with a few irregularities. Phot. in Meritt, *A.F.D.* Pl. vii-x, facs. *ibid.* Pl. xi.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 304B+ Meritt, *A.F.D.* 116 ff.

Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος δευτέρας πρ[ο]τανευούσης Ἑλληνοταμίαις

παρέδομεν Λυσιθέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ συνάρχουσι τρίτ[η]ι καὶ δεκάτ[η]ι  
 τῆς πρυτανείας, δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος Μεταγειτνιώνος, | ἐς τὴν διωβε-  
 λίαν Ἀθηναί[α]ι Νίκη· Γ . . . . Ἑλλη[ν]ο[ταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις]  
 Θ[ρ]α[συλ]όχῳ Θορικίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσι ἐβδόμ[η]ι καὶ δεκάτῃ [τῆς  
 5 πρυτανείας, ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος] Μεταγειτνιώνος, || ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν·  
 ΗΔΤΤΤ· [Ἑ]λληνοταμίαις [καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ  
 συνάρχουσ[ι] | ἐβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῇ[ς] πρυτανείας, ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος  
 Μεταγειτνιώνος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν Ἀθηναίαι Νίκη· ΓΗΗΗΗ .  
 Δ[ΔΔ]ΓΤΤ· Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Πρωτάρχῳ Προβαλι-  
 σίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσι δ[γδ]όῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ [τῆς πρυτανείας, πέμπτῃ  
 φθίνοντος Μεταγειτνιώνος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν]· ΔΤΤ· Ἑλληνοτα-  
 μίαις καὶ παρέδροις [Πρωτάρχῳ Προβαλισίῳ] καὶ συνάρχουσι ἐνά[μ]-  
 10 τῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, τετ[ρ]ράδι φθίνοντος Μεταγειτνιών-  
 ος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν· ΗΗΓ· | Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσι-  
 θέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ συνάρχουσ[ι] δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστῇ | τῆς πρυ-  
 τανείας, ἔνῃ καὶ [ν]έαι Μεταγειτνιώνος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν· ΔΓΙΙΙΙ·  
 Ἑλληνοταμίαις [καὶ] | παρέδροις Θρασυλόχῳ Θ[ρ]οικίῳ καὶ συνάρ-  
 χουσι τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, [ν]ου[μ]ηνίᾳ Βοηδρομιώνος,  
 ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν· ΗΔΤΤΤ· Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσι-  
 15 θέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ συνάρχουσι τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυ-  
 τανείας, δευτέραι Βοηδρομιώνος, ἐς [τὴν] | διωβελίαν· ΓΤΙΙΙ· Ἑλλη-  
 νοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις [Λ]υσιθέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ συνάρχουσι ἕκτῃ |  
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, τετράδι ἱσταμένου Βοηδρομιώνος, ἐς τὴν  
 διωβελίαν· ΔΔΔΓ . Ι . Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέωι  
 Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ συνάρχουσι τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ὀγδόῃ  
 ἱσταμένου Βοηδρομιώνος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν Ἀθηναίαι [Ν]ίκη·  
 20 ΓΓΤΤ· Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Λυσιθέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι καὶ  
 συνάρχουσι τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ὀγδόῃ ἱστ[αμ]ένου Βοηδρο-  
 μιώνος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν· ΔΔΔΔΤΤ· Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέ-  
 δροις Πρωτάρχῳ [Πρωτάρχῳ] Προβαλισίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσι ἕκτῃ  
 καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα [Βοηδ]ρομιώνος,  
 [ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν]· ΔΔΓΤΤΤΤ· Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις  
 Λυσιθέωι Θυμ[αιτάδ]ηι | καὶ συνάρχουσ[ι] ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ  
 25 τῆς πρυτανείας, τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα Βοηδρομιώνος, [ἐς τὴν] διωβελίαν  
 - 43 - ]τ - - -

Professor Meritt has kindly allowed me to use his still unpublished text.

Kirchhoff argued (*I.G.* i. 189), and Ferguson has now proved

(*Treasurers of Athena*, 28 ff.), that these accounts belong to the year 407-6 B.C. The prescript and the accounts of the first prytany were inscribed at the foot (now lost) of the obverse. The engraver continued on the reverse, but, thinking the space more than sufficient for his purpose, did not start at the top of the stone: thus when he reached its foot he was compelled to continue on the upper part, which he had left blank. Portions of 27 lines are there preserved (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 304. 66-92), relating to the eighth, ninth, and tenth prytanies, but in so mutilated a condition that they are here omitted (the best text is that of Meritt, *A.F.D.* 120 ff.).

The second prytany, the accounts of which are preserved almost intact, extended from 9th Metageitnion to 14th Boedromion, i.e., according to the reckoning of B. D. Meritt (*Cl. Phil.* xxv. 236 ff., *A.F.D.* 176 f.), from 16th August to 20th September, 407 B.C. The accounts are based on the Panathenaic, not on the senatorial-civil, year.

All the payments made are for the *διοβελία* (see comment on No. 83). They are remarkably small; the largest (l. 7) falls short of 1,000 drachmas, and at least one (ll. 3, 16) of 7. In three cases (ll. 3, 7, 19) the words 'Αθηναία Νίκη are added, which I take (with Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* ii. 212, note 2) as indicating that the payments in question came not from the treasury of Athena Polias but from that of Athena Nike.

## 93

## Monument of a Lycian Dynast: late fifth Century B.C.

On the northern face of the monolithic shaft of a limestone monument at Xanthus in Lycia, commonly called the 'Xanthian Stele'.

Ionic writing, probably of the late fifth century B.C. Στοιχῆδον, except at the ends of the longer lines. Facs. in *T.A.M.* i, p. 41.

*T.A.M.* i. 44+ Hicks-Hill, 56; Nachmanson, *H.G.I.* 26; Geffcken, 98; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 56. Cf. E. Bormann, *Jahresh.* vi. 245.

[Ε]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχα πόλ[ι]τος ἐνεμ[ε]ν,

[ο]ὔδεις πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάυδε ἀνέθηκ(ε)ν

[δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει

[νικ]έων καὶ πολέμου μῆμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον.

- 5 [Κόρρ]ις ὄδε Ἀρπάγου υἱὸς ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα  
 [χέ]ρσιν πάλιν Λυκίων τῶν τότε ἐν ἡλικίαι,  
 [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίαι πολιορκῶν  
 ·[π]έρσας συγγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας·  
 ὦν χάριν ἀθάνατοί οἱ ἀπεμν(ή)σαντο δικαίαν·
- 10 ἐπτά δὲ ὀπλίτας κτείνειν ἐν ἡμέραι· Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας,  
 Ζηνὶ δὲ π(λ)εῖστα τροπαῖα β(ρ)οτῶν ἐ(σ)[τ]ησεν ἀπάν(τ)ων  
 καλλίστοις δ' ἔργοις Κα[ρ]ίκα γένος ἐστεφάνωσεν.

Above the Greek epigram are the concluding 19 lines of an inscription in the Lycian language and script (for which see W. Arkwright in *Anatolian Studies presented to W. M. Ramsay*, 15 ff.), which covers also the southern and eastern faces of the shaft: below it are 34 lines of a second Lycian text, which is continued on the western face. Though the native inscriptions cannot be read, certain names have been deciphered in that which precedes the Greek epigram, among them those of Melesander (who in 480–29 sailed to Caria and Lycia with six ships to collect money for the Athenians and to protect commerce, but was defeated and killed by the Lycians, Thuc. ii. 69, Paus. i. 29. 7), Amorges (Thuc. viii. 5, 19, 28, 54), Darius and Artaxerxes, Hieramenes (Thuc. viii. 58) and Tissaphernes. Probably the inscription records events in which its hero took a part from 480, or possibly earlier, down to 411, or even later, if Artaxerxes II (who succeeded Darius in 405 or 404) is referred to as Emperor.

The Lycians were added to the Delian League by Cimon shortly before the battle of the Eurymedon (Diod. xi. 60): they still paid tribute in 446–5 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 199. 34), but probably fell away soon afterwards, perhaps at the time of the Samian revolt. The national reaction against Hellenic dominance may have been inspired and maintained by the chieftain whom this monument commemorates.

The epigram falls into two parts (ll. 1–4 and 5–12), apparently inscribed by different hands. Metrically it is very faulty; hiatus and synizesis are frequent, κτείνειν (l. 10) should be κτάν', and the attempt to write elegiac couplets is far from successful. All that the poem can boast is a certain rude

vigour and some classical echoes. The engraver has made matters worse by omitting a number of letters.

L. 1 repeats the first line of an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 296, *Diod.* xi. 62, *Hiller, H. Gr. Ep.* 49) assigned (probably erroneously) to Simonides, which was associated in antiquity with the battle of the Eurymedon but has been brought by E. Meyer into connexion with that of Cyprian Salamis (*Forsch.* ii. 9 ff.). The restoration here given in l. 5 is due to J. Imbert (*R.E.G.* vii. 267): it represents the native name Khārāi, found in the Lycian text on this stele and also on Lycian coins of the later fifth century (*B.M. Cat. Coins: Lycia*, xxxv, 22, Head, *H.N.* 691). Ὀδὲ probably refers to a statue surmounting the monument: with the last words of the line cf. *Soph. Trach.* 488, πάντ' ἀριστεύων χεροῖν. In l. 6 πάλην, 'wrestling', is preferable to παλήν, 'king' (i.e. βαλήν or βαλλήν: cf. *Aesch. Pers.* 657, *Soph. fr.* 472 Nauck). The reference (l. 7) to the aid of Athena, here alone termed πολέμορος, reminds us of the head of Athena stamped on the obverse of most of the coins of Khārāi. In l. 8 βασιλέας = βασιλείας. L. 9 may be a conscious imitation of Hesiod, *Theog.* 503, οἳ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν ἐϋεργεσιδῶν. With l. 10 cf. No. 41, l. 2: the Arcadians may have been mercenaries in the service of Amorges or of the Spartans (*Thuc.* viii. 28. 4).

Καρίκας (l. 12) is probably the Greek equivalent of the name Khārīga, known to us from coins (*B.M. Cat. Coins: Lycia*, xxxvi, 23, Head, *H.N.* 691), though the prince who issued them was a successor, not an ancestor, of Khārāi.

## 94

### Thank-offering for the Victory of Aegospotami: 405 B.C.

On eleven statue-bases of grey limestone, no two of which are exactly alike: *k* is much smaller than the others. Ten were found at the S.E. corner of the sacred precinct at Delphi, close to the main gate by which the Sacred Way enters it.

Ionic writing (O = ov in *d*). Στοιχηδόν, except *a*, *d*, *f*. Facs. in *Fouilles*, iii. 1, pp. 30 ff.

*S.I.G.* 115+ H. Pomtow, *R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1209 ff.

(*a*) For the epigram in honour of Lysander, which probably belongs to this monument, see No. 95.

(b) The epigram commemorating Aracus, the Spartan ναύαρχος, is too mutilated to be capable of satisfactory restoration (cf. Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 59).

(c) Ἀριάνθιος | Λυσιμαχίδαο | Βοιωτῶν ν[αύαρχος].

(d) Κ[ιμυ]έριος | Πελασγοῦ | Ἐφέσιος.

(e) Αλαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος (in front). Αλαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος. | Τείσανδρος ἐπο[ησ]ε and Μιλήσιος (on top).

(f) Θεόπομπος | Λαπόμπου | Μάλιος. | Ἄλυπος ἐποίει.

(g) Αὔτόνομος | Σαμίου | Ἐρετριεύς (in front). Ἐρετρι[εύς] (on top).

(h) --- | . . . . ρε . . . | Κορίνθιος.

(i) Ἀπολλόδωρος | Καλλιφῶνος | Τροζάνιος (in front). Τροζάνιος (on top).

(j) [Κώμ]ων | . . . ὦνδα | [Μεγα]ρεύς.

(k) Κᾶρυξ.

The Spartan triumph at Aegospotami in 405 was commemorated by the dedication of a large chamber or portico at Delphi (on the right of the Sacred Way, close to the main entrance of the precinct) containing 38 statues. In the foreground stood the Dioscuri, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Poseidon crowning Lysander, beside whom were his seer and his pilot; behind them were 28 portraits of ναύαρχοι who had engaged in the battle, with Aracus, the Spartan admiral, at one end of the line and two Spartan squadron-commanders, Epicydidas and Eteonicus, at the other. The monument is described by Pausanias, who gives an annotated list of the sculptures (x. 9. 7-10, with the notes of Hitzig and Blümner, iii. 664 ff.: cf. Plut. *Lys.* 18), from which the herald (k) is omitted. The patina of the statues was later much admired (Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 2).

Of the dedicatory inscription of the monument two letters, NI, survive, which may belong to [Λακεδαιμόνι]οι or to [Ἀπόλ-λω]νι.

The Boeotian admiral (c) is named Ἐριάνθης by Pausanias (*loc. cit.*), Ἐρίανθος by Plutarch (*Lys.* 15), Ἐῤανθος by the scholiast on Dem. xix. 65: he is probably identical with the

Theban Boeotarch of Thuc. iv. 91 (where 'Αριανθίδου should perhaps be altered to 'Αριανθίου). We cannot determine which of the two Corinthian admirals named by Pausanias, Aristophantus and Pythodotus, is commemorated in *h*. On another basis, probably belonging to the same series, part of a single letter survives, which Pomtow doubtfully supplements thus: [Κλεομήδης | - - -] | Ξ[άμιος] (*R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1212 note).

Of the sculptors here named Tisander (*e*) is otherwise unknown; Alypus of Sicyon (*f*), a pupil of Nausicydes of Argos, also made statues of Olympian victors (Paus. vi. 1. 3, 8. 5).

## 95

## Lysander, Victor of Aegospotami: 405 B.C.

Two fragments of a limestone base, discovered in 1894 at the N.E. corner of the temple-terrace at Delphi.

Ionic writing of a type used about 340-30 B.C. Phot. in *Fouilles*, iii. 1, Pl. 2; facs. *ibid.* p. 28.

*Fouilles*, iii. 1. 50+ Janell, 132; *S.I.G.* 115, note 2; Geffcken, *Gr. Ep.* 97; Hiller, *H. Gr. Ep.* 58. Cf. Powell-Barber, ii. 49; H. Pomtow, *R.E. Suppl.* iv. 1209 ff.

Εἰκόνα ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπ'] ἔργῳι τῷιδε, ὅτε νικῶν  
 ναυσὶ θααῖς πέρσεν Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύνανιν,  
 Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαίμονα ἀπόρθητον στεφανώσα[ς],  
 Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορον πατρίδα.  
 5 Ἐξάμον ἀμφιρύν[ου] τεῦξε ἐλεγείῳν : Ἴων.

Although Lysander was not officially the admiral in command at Aegospotami (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 7), it was he, rather than the Spartan ναύαρχος Aracus, who reaped the glory of the victory, and in the commemorative monument dedicated at Delphi (cf. No. 94) he was represented as being crowned by Poseidon (Paus. x. 9. 7). The poet, Ion of Samos (ἐξάμον = ἐκ Σάμων : cf. No. 96, l. 24 and ἐξικέλιας = ἐκ Σικελίας, *C.R.A.I.* 1901, 682), who seems also to have composed the companion epigram on Aracus, here adds his signature in a pentameter verse.



It is almost certain that this base belonged to the monument of Aegospotami, although T. Homolle called this in question, mainly in view of the place where it was discovered (*C.R.A.I.* 1901, 684 ff.).

The character of the writing suggests that the original inscription, presumably engraved shortly after 405, was re-cut in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*H. Pomtow, Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. 556).

## 96

## Athens honours the Samians: 405 B.C.

Four fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, the upper portion of which is intact, found on the Acropolis and now preserved outside the Museum there. Above the inscription is a relief representing Athena and Hera, the tutelary deities of Athens and Samos, standing with right hands clasped (cf. the relief on No. 61).

Ionic letters, *στοιχηδόν*, tempered by a desire to observe the syllabic division of lines. The letters of ll. 1-4 are much larger than the rest. AEΘ are frequently engraved AΛO. Phot. in Kern, *I.G.* 19.

*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 126, ii<sup>2</sup>. 1+ Roberts-Gardner, 28; Janell, 24; *S.I.G.* 116; Nachmanson, *H.A.I.* 22. Cf. Hitzig, *Allg. Staatsn.* No. 6; P. Foucart, *Rev. Phil.* xl. 190 ff.; G. Mathieu, *R.E.G.* xl. 76 ff.; P. Cloché, *ibid.* 197 ff.; M. Schede, *Acropolis of Athens*, 114 ff.; some further references in Hicks-Hill, 81.

Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεύς | ἐγραμμάτενε. |

Σαμίους ὅσοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. ||

- 5 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκροτὶς ἐπρυτάνενε, Πόλυμνις  
Εὐωνυμεύς | ἐγραμμάτενε, Ἀλεξίας ἥρχε, Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεύς ἐπεσ-  
τάται. Γνώμη Κλεισόφου | καὶ συνπρυτάνεων· ἐπαίνεσαι τοὺς πρέσ-  
βεσι τοῖς Σαμίους τοῖς τε προτέρο[ις] ἤκουσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τῇ  
βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν  
10 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ποιεῖν ὅ,τι δύναται ἀγαθόν, || καὶ τὰ  
πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
Σαμίους· καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεποιήκασιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ νῦν περὶ  
πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται καὶ | ἐσηγοῦνται ἀγαθὰ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ  
τῷ δήμῳ· Σαμίους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι, | πολιτευομένους ὅπως ἂν  
αὐτοὶ βούλωνται· καὶ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται ὡς ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀμφοτέ-

ροῖς, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐπειδὴν εἰρήνη γένηται, τότε περὶ ||  
 15 τῶν ἄλλων κοινῇ βουλευέσθαι. Τοῖς δὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς  
 σφετέροις αὐτῶν | αὐτονόμους ὄντας, καὶ τὰλλα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς  
 ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καθάπερ | ξύνκειται Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σαμίοις·  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἃ ἂν γίγνηται | πρὸς ἀλλήλους, διδόναι καὶ  
 δέχεσθαι τὰς δίκας κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τὰς οὕσας. | [Ἐ]ὰν δέ τι ἀναγ-  
 20 καίον γίγνηται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς πολι[τ]είας,  
 ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις, πρὸς τὰ παρόντα βουλευομένους  
 ποιεῖν | [ῆ]ι ἂν δοκῇ βέλτιστον εἶναι· περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἕα γίγνη-  
 ται, εἶναι κατὰ ταῦτα | [κ]αθάπερ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν  
 Σάμῳ· ἕαν δὲ πολεμῇν δέη, παρασκ[ε]ψάσθαι αὐτοὺς ὥς ἂν δύνων-  
 ται ἄριστα πράττοντας μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν | [ἐ]ὰν δὲ πρεσβείαν ποι-  
 25 πέμπωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, συμπέμπειν καὶ τοὺς ἐξάμουν παρόντας, || [ἐ]ὰν  
 τινα βούλωνται, καὶ συμβουλεύειν ὅ,τι ἂν ἔχωσιν ἀγαθόν. Ταῖς δὲ  
 τριήρεσι | [ταῖς] οὖσαις ἐς Σάμῳ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς δοῦναι ἐπισκευασα-  
 μένοις καθότι ἂν αὐ[τ]οῖς δ[ο]κῇ· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν τριηράρχων, ὧν  
 ἦσαν αὐταὶ αἱ νῆες, ἀπογράψαι | [τοὺς πρέσ]βεις τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς  
 βουλῆς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· καὶ τούτων εἴ πού [τ]ί ἐστι ὄφλημ[α] γε-  
 30 γραμμένον ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὥς παρειληφόντων τὰς τριήρεις, || [ἀ]παν-  
 ἐξαλειψάντων οἱ νεωροὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, τὰ δὲ σκευὴ τῷ δημοσίῳ  
 ἐσ[τ]ο[ν] [πραξάντων ὥς τάχιστα κα]ὶ ἐπαναγκασάντων ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς  
 ἔχοντας οὕτων | [τι ἐντελῆ].

Γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ] συνπρυτάνεων· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ  
 βουλῇ· | [εἶναι δὲ πολιτείαν Σαμίων τοῖς ἥκουσιν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ  
 αἰτοῦνται, καὶ νεῖμαι | [αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐς τ]ὰς  
 35 φυλὰς δέκαχα· καὶ τὴν πορείαν παρα[σ]κευάσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς ὡς τάχιστα· καὶ Εὐμάχῳ καὶ τοῖς | [ἄλλοις Σαμίοις  
 πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχου ἦκουσ]ι ἐπαινέσαι ὥς οὖσιν ἀνδράσιν |  
 [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καλέσαι δ' Εὐμ]αχον ἐ[π]ὶ δ[ι]έπνον ἐς τὸ  
 πρυτανεῖον | [ἐς αὐριον ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τ]ὸν γραμμ[ατέα  
 τῆς] β[ουλ]ῆς μετὰ τῶν | [στρατηγῶν ἐστ]ήλη λιθίνῃ καὶ κατα[θ]εῖναι  
 40 ἐς πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλη[ν]οταμίας || [δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον ἀναγράψαι  
 δ' ἐς Σάμῳ κατὰ ταῦτα τέλ]ε[σι] [τοῖς ἐκεί]νων.

After the decisive defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami in 405, all their remaining subjects revolted with the exception of the Samians (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 6). These massacred the oligarchs, put their city in a state of defence, and sent two

embassies to Athens (ll. 7, 8) to concert measures for the prosecution of the war. The Athenian reply is contained in this decree. In 403-2 it was re-engraved, together with two other decrees relative to the same subject, and the name of the Secretary of Council then in office, who had himself moved one of the decrees, was placed at the head of the inscription (ll. 1, 2), followed by a short but comprehensive title (ll. 3, 4). The Clisophus here mentioned (ll. 6, 32) must be distinguished from his namesake, who served as secretary of the *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* in 402-1 (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1371), for the latter belonged to the tribe Erechtheis; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the motion, accepted in the first prytany, when the tribe Erechtheis was in office, came before the assembly in the second (Cecropid) prytany. The formula *γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ συνπρυτάνεων* is unique, but *[γνώμ]η τῶν συγγραφέων* is found in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 109, and *γνώμη στρατηγῶν* is common (O. Schulthess, *R.E.* vii. 1484).

The main body of the decree falls into five sections:—

1. Praise of the Samian envoys and people (ll. 7-11).
2. Grant of Athenian citizenship to the Samians, coupled with a guarantee of complete autonomy and the maintenance or existing treaties and conventions with Athens (ll. 11-18).
3. Provision for common action regarding war, negotiation, and peace (ll. 19-25).
4. Grant to the Samians of the Athenian triremes now at Samos—probably the twenty ships left there by Conon and Philocles (Diod. xiii. 104)—and indemnification of their trierarchs (ll. 25-32).
5. A rider providing for the immediate enrolment of the Samian envoys as Athenian citizens and for their safe return home; also for the publication of this decree at Athens and Samos (ll. 32-40).

In l. 24 *ἐξάμουν* = *ἐκ Σάμων* (cf. No. 95, l. 5). The officials called *νεωροί* in l. 30 are elsewhere entitled *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων*. The phrase used in ll. 33, 34 reminds us of Herodotus' account of Clisthenes' work, *δέκαχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς* (v. 69, emended by Lolling). The leader of the

Samian envoys, Eumachus, having become, under the terms of this decree, a citizen, is invited to δείπνον (l. 37) and not, like aliens, to ξένα.

The original stele (l. 39) was probably destroyed by the Thirty, and the decree was therefore re-engraved, as noted above, in 403-2 B.C.

# ATHENIAN EPONYMOUS ARCHONS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

For the sake of brevity, only the year in which each archon entered office is given: thus, Smyrus' archonship extended from the summer of 500 to that of 499, and so on.

The authorities, literary and epigraphical, for the archons from 500 to 321 B.C. are cited in Hicks-Hill, 314 ff. (cf. von Schoeffer in *R.E.* ii. 585 ff., Hill, *Sources*, 357 ff.). Further references will be found under the names of the several archons in *R.E.* or in *P.A.*

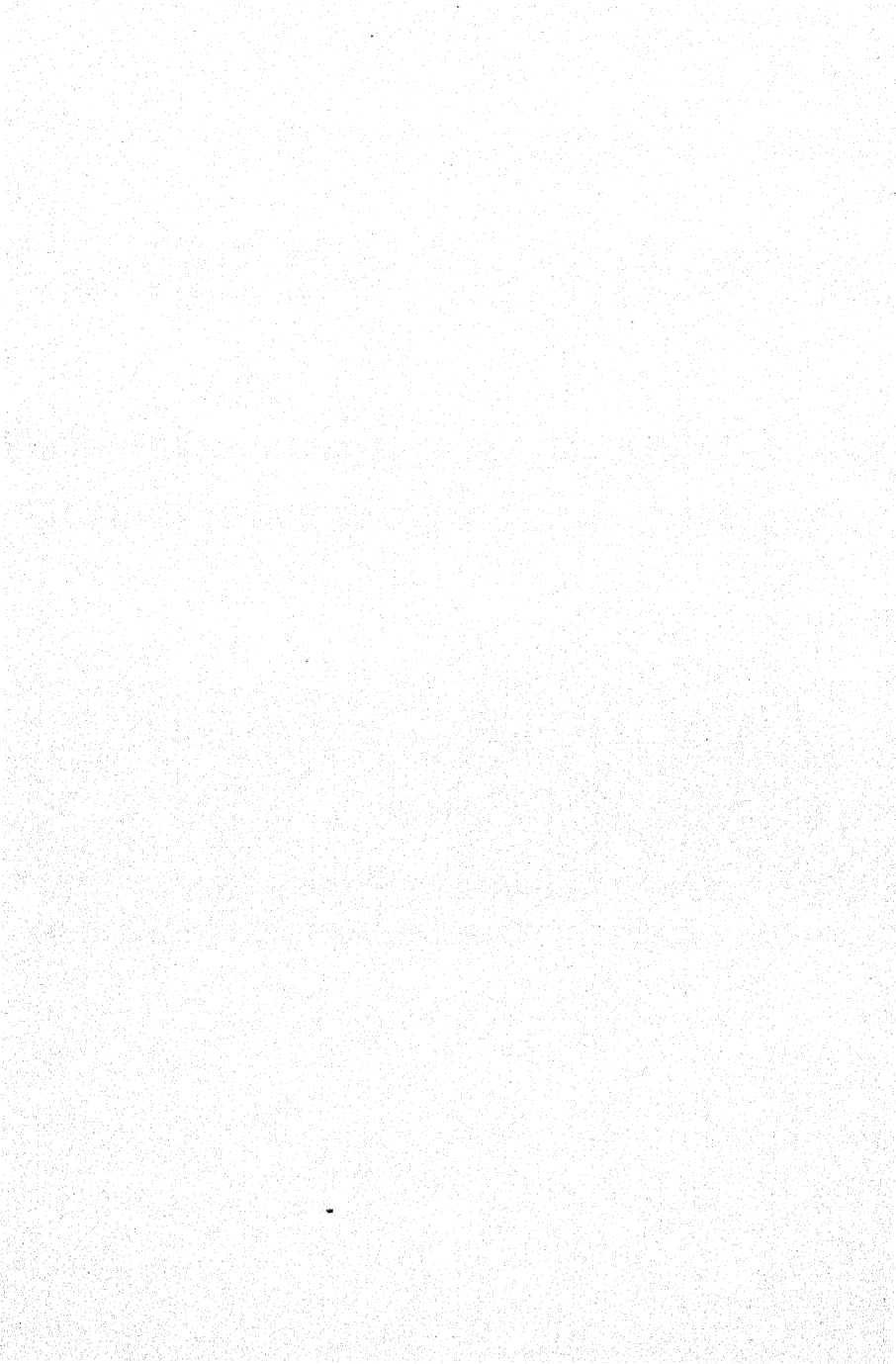
500 Smyrus (?)	465 Lysitheus	431 Euthydemus
499) Lacratides	464 Archedemides	430 Apollodorus
498) and, perhaps,	463 Tlepolemus	429 Epaminon
497) Cebris	462 Conon	428 Diotimus
496 Hipparchus	461 Euthippus	427 Eucles
495 Philippus	460 Phrasicles (or	426 Euthynus
494 Pythocritus	Phrasiclides)	425 Stratocles
493 Themistocles	459 Philocles	424 Isarchus
492 Diognetus	458 Habron	423 Aminias
491 Hybrilides	457 Mnesithides	422 Alcaeus
490 Phaenippus	456 Callias	421 Aristion
489 Aristides	455 Sosistratus	420 Astyphilus
488 Anchises	454 Ariston	419 Archias
487 Telesinus	453 Lysicrates	418 Antiphon
486 Cebris (?)	452 Chaerephanes	417 Euphemus
485 Philocrates	451 Antidotus	416 Arimnestus
484 Leostratus	450 Euthynus	415 Charias
483 Nicodemus	449 Pedieus	414 Tisander
482	448 Philiscus	413 Cleocritus
481 Hypsichides	447 Timarchides	412 Callias Σκαμβω- νίδης
480 Calliades	446 Callimachus	411 Mnasilochus (2 months): Theo- pompus
479 Xanthippus	445 Lysimachides	410 Glaucippus
478 Timosthenes	444 Praxiteles	409 Diocles
477 Adimantus	443 Lysanias	408 Euctemon
476 Phaeton	442 Diphilus	407 Antigenes
475 Dromoclides	441 Timocles	406 Callias Ἀγγελῆ- θεν
474 Acestorides	440 Morychides	405 Alexias
473 Menon	439 Glaucinus	404 Pythodorus
472 Chares	438 Theodorus	403 Euclides
471 Praxiergus	437 Euthymenes	402 Micon
470 Demotion	436 Lysimachus	401 Xenaenetus
469 Apsephion	435 Antiochides	
468 Theagenides	434 Crates	
467 Lysistratus	433 Apseudes	
466 Lysanias	432 Pythodorus	

## TABLE OF CONCORDANCE

Tod.	Hicks-Hill.	S. I. G.	Michel.	I. G.	Roberts-Gardner.	Laudien.
1	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	2	—	—	ix (1). 868	—	—
3	—	5	—	—	—	2
4	3	1	1315	—	—	—
5	9	9	1	—	—	—
6	5	6	1210	—	—	4
7	—	10	—	—	—	—
8	10	—	1019	i <sup>2</sup> . 761	190	31
9	6	3 <sup>f</sup>	—	—	—	—
10	20	22	32	—	—	6
11	4	13	1427	i <sup>2</sup> . 1	1	—
12	12	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 394	178	8
13	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 609	—	13
14	13	23 <sup>b</sup>	1117	—	—	11
15	14	26, 27, 39	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 908-10	392-4	13, 14, 22
16	18	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 927	—	15
17	16	34	1119	—	—	12
18	11	29	1116	—	—	7
19	19	31	1118	—	—	21
20	17	—	—	vii. 53	—	—
21	—	—	1695	i <sup>2</sup> . 655	—	—
22	22	35 <sup>Ba</sup>	1084	—	—	—
23	23	37, 38	1318	—	—	42
24	25	47	285	ix (1). 334	—	—
25	27	45	451	—	—	—
26	26	43	597	i <sup>2</sup> . 929	359	—
27	30	—	—	—	—	—
28	28	—	611	i <sup>2</sup> . 931-2	—	—
29	32	41	1428	i <sup>2</sup> . 10	5	—
30	33	—	556	i <sup>2</sup> . 191	106	—
31	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 19	—	—
32	36	—	6	i <sup>2</sup> . 16	30	—
33	—	56	—	—	—	—
34	44	—	3	ix (1). 333	—	—
35	—	58	—	—	—	—
36	35	—	1333	—	—	—
37	34	—	1240	xiv. 268	—	—
38	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 196	—	—
39	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 26	—	—
40	37	63	671	i <sup>2</sup> . 24	4	—
41	38	—	1767	i <sup>2</sup> . 1085	—	—
42	40	64	70	i <sup>2</sup> . 39	7	20
43	12	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 394	178	—
44	41	67	72	i <sup>2</sup> . 45	8	—
45	—	66	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 911-2	—	—
46	43	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 202	—	19
47	47	—	558	i <sup>2</sup> . 355-5 <sup>a</sup>	114	—
48	46	—	598	i <sup>2</sup> . 943	361	40

## TABLE OF CONCORDANCE

Tod.	Hicks-Hill.	S. I. G.	Michel.	I. G.	Roberts-Gardner.	Laudien.
49	45	61	1085	—	—	—
50	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 293	—	—
51	49	91	75	i <sup>2</sup> . 91, 92	10	24
52	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 352	115	—
53	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 366	—	—
54	50	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 377	121	—
55	53	72	560	i <sup>2</sup> . 295	98	—
56	48	—	559	i <sup>2</sup> . 212	—	—
57	52	70	4	i <sup>2</sup> . 52	13	26
58	51	71	1430	i <sup>2</sup> . 51	12	26
59	54	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 945	360	17, 55
60	59	74	1085	i <sup>2</sup> . 397	186	—
61	60	75	74	i <sup>2</sup> . 57	15	—
62	—	84	—	v (1). 1	—	—
63	61	76	1431	i <sup>2</sup> . 60	16	—
64	62	—	561	i <sup>2</sup> . 324, 306	109	—
65	63	80	1086	v (1). 1563	—	29
66	64	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 63	17	—
67	—	87	1439	xii (5). 480	—	—
68	68	89	1432	i <sup>2</sup> . 90	—	—
69	66	—	811	i <sup>2</sup> . 280	97	—
70	67	—	812	i <sup>2</sup> . 264	—	—
71	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 220	108	—
72	69	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 86	20	30
73	87	63	671	i <sup>2</sup> . 25	4	—
74	—	88	71	i <sup>2</sup> . 76	9	—
75	70	94	563	i <sup>2</sup> . 302	—	—
76	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 97	—	—
77	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 98, 99	—	—
78	71	—	813	i <sup>2</sup> . 248	—	—
79	72 (4)	96	567	i <sup>2</sup> . 329	—	—
80	72 (5)	102	568, 1511	i <sup>2</sup> . 330	—	32
81	—	—	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 298	—	—
82	—	105	341	xii (9). 187	—	35
82	—	109	569	i <sup>2</sup> . 304 A	99	—
84	75	107	1434	i <sup>2</sup> . 108	23	—
85	76	—	570	—	—	—
86	74	108	1435	i <sup>2</sup> . 110	24	34
87	78	111	78	i <sup>2</sup> . 115	25	36
88	77	112	1437	i <sup>2</sup> . 116	26	41
89	73	113	1436	i <sup>2</sup> . 117	—	—
90	—	114	79	i <sup>2</sup> . 118	—	—
91	58	104	—	i <sup>2</sup> . 105	14	—
92	—	109	569	i <sup>2</sup> . 304 B	99	—
93	56	—	—	—	—	—
94	79	115	—	—	—	—
95	—	115 <sup>a</sup>	—	—	—	45
96	81	116	80	i <sup>2</sup> . 126, ii <sup>2</sup> . 1	28	43





# INDEXES

References in ordinary type indicate pages of this volume, those in Clarendon type the numbers of the inscriptions in this selection.

## I. PROPER NAMES

This index contains all proper names in the Greek texts here published and most of those mentioned in the commentary, with the exception of (1) the names of soldiers commemorated in the casualty-lists, 26, 28, and 48, and (2) those which occur only as patronymics.

- Αβδηρα 28, 51, 76, 125   ·ρίται 51, 75,  
     124  
 'Αβυθνοί 77, 95, 122  
 'Αγάθαια 60-1  
 'Αγαρίστη 18  
 'Αγησανδρίδας 202  
 'Αγήσερμος 6  
 'Αγκυλῆθεν, -ῆσι 197  
 'Αγνόδημος 178  
 'Αγνούσιος 202  
 'Αγορά see Χερρονησίται  
 'Αγόρατος 212-13  
 'Αγρα 140  
 'Αγροτέρα see 'Αρτεμς  
 'Αγρυλῆθεν 115, 175  
 'Αδραμύτιον 157, 160  
 'Αδραστεία 139  
 'Αεκεῖς 122  
 'Αθηνά 99, 100 cf. 52, 90, 104, 108-11,  
     115, 125, 135, 205-6, 209-10, 220,  
     224, 225.  
 'Αθηνά, 178-9   'Αθανάα 73  
 'Αθήναξ 83, 86, 88, 143, 151, 176,  
     180, 222   'Αθήνησι(ν) 58, 83, 116,  
     210, 212 cf. 182, 233  
 'Αθήναι Διάδες 98   'Αθηναίοι 77   -νῖται  
     122, 153  
 'Αθηναία 16, 58, 108, 105-6, 114, 118,  
     139, 149, 168, 170-2, 180, 185-7,  
     189, 201-2, 222, 227, 233   'Α. ἐπὶ  
     Παλλαδίῳ (Δηριονείῳ) 140   'Α. ἐπὶ  
     Παλληνίδι 140   'Α. Ζωστηρία 140   'Α.  
     Νίκη 78-80, 139, 141-3, 146, 169-70,  
     201-2, 204, 225-6   'Αθηνά Νίκη  
     178-9   'Αθηναία Πολιάς 141-3, 146,  
     201-4, 226  
 'Αθηναίοι 15-17, 21, 24, 33, 47, 49, 52,  
     55-8, 79, 81-4, 87, 89, 90, 100-1,  
     108-4, 112, 116-18, 125, 127-8, 130-  
     2, 135-6, 146-7, 164-7, 173, 175-6,  
     179-83, 185-7, 189, 191-2, 201-2,  
     206-12, 214-15, 217-18, 221-2, 227,  
     231-2   'Αθαναίοι 22, 43   'Αθηνάοι  
     202  
 'Αθμονοί 197   -νεύς 185-6, 231  
 'Αθως 95, 123, 161  
 Αλάκης (Αεάκης) 10  
 Αλαντίδης 229  
 Αλαντίς 78, 101-2, 118-19, 139, 186,  
     188, 202  
 Αίας 19  
 Αιγάντιοι 76, 96, 124  
 Αιγής 100-1, 150, 178, 202  
 Αιγυλιεύς 204  
 Αίγινα 40   -ναῖος 133, 176   -νάται 22  
     -νήται 51, 98, 122  
 Αιγύσθενα 81  
 Αιγὸς ποταμοί 134, 228-32  
 Αίγυπτος 7, 40, 42, 54, 57   -τιοί 6  
 'Αἶδας 81  
 Αἰετοί 60-1  
 Αἰνεῖσται 96, 123, 156  
 Αἶνος 147   -μοί 50, 75, 96  
 Αἰζωνεύς 118, 186  
 Αιολίται 124, 160  
 Αἰραῖοι 51, 76, 158   -αἰεῖς 94  
 Αἰσιμίδης 78, xx  
 Αισχίνης 88, xx  
 Αισώνιοι 96   -νεῖς 124  
 Αἰτωλοί 33, 65  
 'Ακαμαντίς 58, 101-2, 125, 127, 135,  
     137-9, 203, 214, 222  
 'Ακάνθιοι 96, 124, 156  
 'Ακαρνανία 146  
 'Ακρόθφοι οἱ ἐν 'Αθῶν 161  
 'Ακταῖος (φόρος) 157-62   'Ακταῖαι πόλεις  
     155-6, 158, 160  
 'Αλαεῖς 185-6, 202  
 'Αλεξίας 231  
 'Αλιεῖς 40, 178  
 'Αλικαρνασός 36-9   -σσεῖς 37-9, 51,  
     121   -σσοί 74, 97, 158

- 'Αλιμούσιος 168, 172  
 'Αλκιβιάδης 18, 109, 162-8, 177, 179,  
 185-7, 189-90, 194, 199, 200, 209,  
 217-20  
 'Αλκίδας 184  
 'Αλικυαίοι 57  
 'Αλκιμος 67-8  
 'Αλονήσιοι 155  
 'Αλυπος 229-30  
 'Αλαπεκῆθε(ν) 17, 203  
 'Αλαπεκοννήσιοι 95, 123, 174 -οκον-  
 νήσιοι 155  
 'Αμαζιτὸς 160  
 'Αμασις 6  
 'Αμεινίας 138-9, 144  
 'Αμεμπος 188  
 'Αμόργης 227-8  
 'Αμόργιοι 124, 158  
 'Αμπρακία 3, 147 -κιῶται 22, 147  
 'Αμφικτίονες (Delph.) 78 -τύονες  
 (Delos) 116-17, 210-11 -τυονικός  
 214  
 'Αμφίπολις 190-1 -λίται 210  
 'Αναίτιος 203, 205-6  
 'Ανακτορεῖς 147 cf. Φανακτορεῖς  
 'Αναξίδημος 116  
 'Αναξικράτης 186  
 'Αναφαῖοι 153  
 'Αναφλύστιος 118, 186, 204  
 'Ανδοκίδης 81, 91-2, 119; 198  
 'Ανδροκλῆς 137-8  
 'Ανδρόμαχος 199  
 'Ανδρος 89 -ριοι 76, 98, 121, 152  
 'Ανθεστήρια 28, 184  
 'Ανθεστηριῶν 117  
 'Αντανδρος 155, 160  
 'Αντιγένης 222-3  
 'Αντικλῆς 83, 85; 112-13; 213  
 'Αντίμαχος 187  
 'Αντιοχίς 81-2, 101, 187, 203, 219-21  
 'Αντισάρα 123, 209  
 'Αντισθένης 201  
 'Αντιφάτας 32, 36 -της 99  
 'Αντιφῶν 185  
 'Αντιχάρης 221  
 'Αξίохος 208-9  
 'Απῆμαντος 210  
 'Απολλόδωρος 212-13; 217-18; 229  
 'Απόλλων 3, 11-13, 17, 19, 20, 22, 46,  
 73, 78, 116, 140, 217, 219, 229 'Α.  
 Δῆλιος 53, 211 'Α. Ζωστήρ 139  
 'Α. Πύθιος 11, 147  
 'Απολλωνία 156  
 'Απολλωνίδης 37-40  
 'Απολλώνιον 37, 40, 73  
 'Αραθθος ('Αραχθος) 3  
 'Αρακος 229-30  
 'Αργίλιοι 51, 96, 123  
 'Αργινοῦσαι 206, 213  
 'Αργος 5, 59, 60, 62-3, 176-7, 186, 188-  
 9, -γεῖοι 4, 5, 43, 45-6, 60-2, 175-6,  
 212, 230  
 'Αρείος πάγος 2, 198, 212 'Αρειοπαῖται  
 212  
 'Αρης 3, 25, 60-2, 73  
 'Αριανθίδης 230  
 'Αριάνθιος 229-30  
 'Αρίμνηστος 187  
 'Αρισβαῖοι 95  
 'Αριστείδης 18, 56, 162; 185-6  
 'Αριστίων 52, 173, 175; 185  
 'Αριστοκράτης 173, 175; 188; 204, 206  
 'Αριστοτέλης 173, 175  
 'Αριστοφάνης 204-5  
 'Αριστόφαντος 230  
 'Αρίστυλλος 114  
 'Αρίστων 49, 52, 56-7, 78  
 'Αρκαδία 9, 24 -κάδες 227-8  
 'Αρκέσεια 97  
 'Αρνιαδας 3, 4  
 'Αροίη (?) 28  
 'Αρπαγανοί 76, 95, 122  
 'Αρπαγος 23, 227  
 'Αρπακτίδης 11  
 'Αρ(ρ)ίφρων 17, 18  
 'Αρταῖοι τείχος ἐπὶ τῷ Πύνδακι 154, 159  
 'Αρτακηνοί 51, 95, 123, 155  
 'Αρταξέρξης 227  
 'Αρτεμς 25, 78, 116-17, 211, 229  
 'Α. 'Αγροτέρα 139-40 'Α. Βραυρωνία  
 110, 140 'Α. Μουνιχία 139-40  
 'Αρτεμισία 38  
 'Αρτεμίσιον 25  
 'Αρτεμίσιον (temple) 9, 10, 61, 211  
 'Αρταμίτιον 60  
 'Αρχέδημος 56; 206  
 'Αρχέλα(ο)s 222-4  
 'Αρχέστρατος 83, 85; 185-6  
 'Αρχίδαμος 133  
 'Αρχίστρατος 60, 62  
 'Αρχός 60-2  
 'Αρχων 6, 7  
 'Ασία 12, 226 'Ασίς 26  
 'Ασπασία 206  
 'Ασπενδος 159  
 'Ασσηρίται 51, 76, 96, 124  
 'Αστακηνοί 51  
 'Αστύοχος 220  
 'Αστυαλαεῖς 75, 97, 120, 153  
 'Αστυνα Τρωϊκά 155 'Αστυρηνοί Μυσοί  
 94  
 'Ασωπόδωρος 25, 201  
 'Ατηνεὺς 125, 195  
 'Αττική 11, 14, 73, 81, 108, 136, 177,  
 216  
 Αὐλιᾶται 51, 120 -ίηται 97 Cf. Οὐλί-  
 ᾶται  
 Αὐρίδης 187  
 Αὐτοκλῆς 186, 190  
 Αὐτόνομος 229

Ἀφιδναῖος 16, 108, 119, 188, 145, 195,  
208-4

Ἀφροδίτη 60, 62, 74 Ἀφροδίτη ἐν  
Ἱππολυτείῳ 139-40 Ἀ. ἐν Κήποις  
140

Ἀφταῖοι 74, 96, 125, 156

Ἀχαιμενίδαι 18

Ἀχάρνα 60, 62

Ἀχαρνέως 91, 178, 179, 195 -νήθεν 91

Ἀχεροῦσιος 138

Ἀχιλλεῖον 160

Ἀψεύδης 116, 118, 125, 127

Ἀψέφης 41, 43

Ἀψεφίων 210

Βαργυλεῖς 75 -ήται 97

Βατήθεν 187

Βέλβινα 158

Βενδῖς 139

Βεργαῖοι 128

Βερύσιοι 77 Β. ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰδῇ 51, 155

Βέσβικος 155, 174

Βησαιεύς 185-6

Βισάλται 89

Βισάνθη 160

Βίταν 4, 5

Βίαν 19, 20

Βοηδρομίων 184, 225-6

Βοιωτία 15, 81 -τιον πεδῖον 25 -τοί  
15, 21, 81, 85, 87, 229 Βοιωτάρχης  
230

Βορμίσκος 161

Βοττιαῖοι 166-7

Βούθεια 94 -θείεις 51, 76

Βουλακλῆς 116

Βουλαρχίδης 14

Βουτάδης 208-4

Βουφονίων 116

Βραγχίδαι 11

Βραυρανία see Ἀρτεμῖς

Βρέα 88-90.

Βρικινδάριοι ἐρ Ῥόδα 178

Βρυκούντιοι 76, 159

Βρύλλειον 154 -ειανοί 122, 155

Βρυγχειεῖς 77 Cf. Γρυγχεῖς

Βρυσανίδης 14

Βυδάντιον 101-2, 130, 132 -τιοι 77,  
95, 128

Γαδάτας 12

Γαλαῖοι 124, 161

Γαλήψιοι 51, 75, 96, 128

Γαμπλίων 116-17, 184

Γαργαρέω 75, 94

Γέλαν 19, 20; 125

Γεντίνιοι 74

Γλαυκίππος 202, 207, 210-11, 213

Γλαῦκος 79

Γλαύκων 118-19

Γοργίας 126

Γόργουινος 139-40

Γόρτυν 68, 70, 72

Γρυνείεις 74, 94

Γρυγχεῖς 98, 122 Γρυγχεῖς 158

Δαμνοτεχίται 76 Cf. Δαννιοτ.

Δάμων 91-3

Δαμωνίδης 91-2

Δανδάκη 157

Δαρδανεῖς 77, 95, 122, 154

Δαρείον παρὰ τῇ Μυσίαν 154

Δαρείος 12, 13; 227

Δασκύλειον 155 Δ. ἐν Προποντίδι 51-  
2, 122

Δάτις 17

Δαννοτεχίται 95, 122, 174 Cf. Δαμνιοτ.

Δαφνοῦς 219-20

Δεινομένης 19, 20, 27 -νίδα 20

Δεκέλεια 206 -λεεύς 208

Δελφοί 4, 5, 17, 20-3, 26-7, 61, 78,  
117, 138, 147, 229-30 ἡ μαντεία ἡ  
ἐγ Δελφῶν 179-80, 182-3

Δεξιθεός 187

Δεξικράτης 204

Δήλος, -λίοι 58, 116-17, 170, 210-11

Δήλιος Ἀπόλλων 53

Δημήτηρ 5, 46, 73

Δημήτριος 138-9

Δημοθάλης 116

Δημοκλείδης 88-9

Δημόκριτος 210

Δημοσθένης 138, 145, 147, 186, 189

Δημόστρατος 99

Δημοφῶν 140

Δηριονεῖον (?) see Ἀθηναία

Δία 28

Διάδες see Ἀθῆναι Διάδες

Διακρῆς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων 124, 158

Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ 153

Διάκριοι ἐρ Ῥόδῳ 173

Δίδυμα 11

Διδυμοτεχίται 51, 77, 95, 122, 155,  
174

Διειτρέφης 209, 221

Διῆς 50, 75, 153, 156 Δ. ἀπὸ τοῦ

Ἀθῶ 95 Δ. ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθῶ 123

Διῆς 76 Δ. ἀπὸ Κηναίων 98, 122

Δίκαια παρ' Ἀθῆναι 51, 76, 125

Δίκαια Ἐρετριῶν 96 Δικαιοπολίται 51

Δ. Ἐρετριῶν 123 Δ. Ἐρετριῶν  
ἀποικοι 75

Δίκτυς 114

Διογένης 114

Διόγνητος 82, 84-5; 214

Διοκλῆς 211-14

Διονύσια 77, 88, 130, 132, 145 Δ. τὰ  
ἐν ἄστει 211, 213

Διονύσιος 120, 203-4

Διονυσόδωρος 188

Διόνυσος 140

- Διοπίειθς 129  
 Διοσερίται 50 -σιρῆται 75, 94, 121, 173  
 Διδάσκουροι 229  
 Διδύμιος 118  
 Δίνυλλος 203  
 Δρακοντίδης 82, 84, 118-19; 187  
 Δράκων 214-16  
 Δρύς παρὰ Ξέρρειον 161  
 Δύναμις 28, 30  
 Δώδεκα θεοὶ 11, 226  
 Ἐβδομαῖα 1, 3  
 Ἐγεστα, -αῖοι 56-7, 194  
 Ἐδριεῖς 159  
 Ἐδρώλιοι 75 Cf. Χεδρώλιοι  
 Εἰρεαῖος 138-9  
 Ἐκατομβαιῶν 139, 144, 181, 184, 201  
 Ἐλαιέα 94 Ἐ. παρὰ Μύριναν 120, 173  
 Ἐλαιῖται 50  
 Ἐλαιεύς 163  
 Ἐλαιούσιοι 76, 94 Ἐ. Ἐρυθραίων 159  
 Ἐλαιούσιοι 95, 123 Ἐ. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ 155 Ἐ. ἐκ Χερρονήσου 174  
 Ἐλεσίβυς 6, 7  
 Ἐλευθεραί, -ῤῃθεν 102  
 Ἐλευσίς 182-5 -σινάδε 180 -σῖνι 180-2 -σῖνια 184 -σῖνιον 180, 182, 184 -σῖνιος 94, 170, 181, 183 -σινύθεν 180, 182  
 Ἐλεφαντίνα, -η 6, 7  
 Ἐλλάδιος 24-5  
 Ἑλλάς 19, 20, 23-4, 26, 164, 230  
 Ἑλληνες 16, 23, 28, 164, 180 -νικός 180, 182  
 Ἑλλησποντος 102, 148 -τιος (φόρος) 54, 56, 94, 99, 122, 154-5, 159-61, 164, 173 -τοφύλακες 130, 132  
 Ἑννέα Ὀδοί 89  
 Ἐζήκεστος 125  
 Ἐπιγίνης 219-20  
 Ἐπίδαυρος 189 -ριοι 22  
 Ἐπικλῆς 114  
 Ἐπικνημίδιοι 33  
 Ἐπικυδίδας 229  
 Ἐπίλυκος 91; 138  
 Ἐπιμήδης 58  
 Ἐπιτάδας 134  
 Ἐπιτέλης 100  
 Ἐπιχαρίνος 103  
 Ἐρασινίδης 211, 213  
 Ἐργαμένης 173  
 Ἐργοκλῆς 185-6  
 Ἐρέτρια 201-3, 205 -αῖς 22-3, 75, 77, 83, 96, 98, 122-3, 152, 229  
 Ἐρέχθειον 220  
 Ἐρεχθεύς 127  
 Ἐρεχθίδης 40, 42, 88, 90, 100-1, 129, 137-8, 183, 204, 220, 224, 233  
 Ἐριάνθης, -ανθος 229  
 Ἐρινεῖς 154  
 Ἐρμαιῶν 37  
 Ἑρμειος 187, 201  
 Ἑρμῆς 16, 141, 143 -μαῖ 190, 198  
 -μοκοπίδαι 197, 209  
 Ἑρμονεῖς 22  
 Ἑρμων 203, 206  
 Ἑρυθραῖοι 46-9, 76, 94, 121, 158-9  
 -ῤῃς 46-7  
 Ἑρχιεύς 118, 203  
 Ἑρχομένιοι (Arc.) 22, 24  
 Ἑρώδιοι 75  
 Ἑσπέριοι see Γεσπάριοι  
 Ἑστιαεῖς 75, 153  
 Ἑστιαῖος 79, 80  
 Ἑτεοκαρπάθιοι 158 Ἑ. ἐκ Καρπάθου 124  
 Ἑτερόνικος 229  
 Εὐάνδρος 201  
 Εὐάνθος 229  
 Εὐβοία 25, 81, 83, 85, 87, 90, 153, 206  
 Εὐβουλος 180, 183  
 Εὔδαμος 6, 7  
 Εὐδαίος 212-13  
 Εὐετιῶν 191  
 Εὐφάσιοι (?) 8  
 Εὐθίας 118-19  
 Εὐθύδημος 186, 189  
 Εὐθύδικος 214  
 Εὐθύνοος 182, 137, 144  
 Εὐκλείδης 203, 206, 221  
 Εὐκράτης 167-8  
 Εὐκτῆμον 221  
 Εὐμαχος 232, 234  
 Εὐμολπίδαι 180, 183  
 Εὐζεινός 156  
 Εὐζενος 186  
 Εὐπειθῆς 104-5  
 Εὐπόλις 203  
 Εὐπτόρης 116  
 Εὐρέκτης 120, 125  
 Εὐρίπος 21  
 Εὐρυμαχίται 76  
 Εὐρυμέδων (general) 138, 142, 145  
 Εὐρυμέδων (river) 59, 227-8  
 Εὐρώπη 226  
 Εὐφρημος 57; 168, 172, 186  
 Εὐφράτης 12, 13  
 Εὐχαρίδης 91-2  
 Εὐαννουμῆς 118, 188, 201, 203-4, 231  
 Ἐφεσος 191 -σιοι 9, 94, 121, 133-4, 153, 229  
 Ἐχεμμάς 133-4  
 Φακίνθια 60-1  
 Φαλείοι see Ἡλείοι  
 Φανακτοριῆς 22  
 Γεσπάριοι Λοκροί 31  
 Ζίρεια 160

Ζεύς 27, 46, 73, 227, 229 Ζ. Ὀλύμπιος  
8, 22, 27, 44, 83, 103, 146 Ζ.  
Πολιεύς 172

Ζώνη παρὰ Σέρρειον 161

Ζωστήρ see Ἀπόλλων -ρία see Ἀθηναία

Ἡγέλοχος 201-2

Ἡδύλος 173

Ἡϊών 188-9

Ἥλιος 176-7 Ἥλειοι 175 Φαλείοι 8,  
9, 22, 24

Ἥρα 60-2 Ἥρη 10 Ἥραϊον 5, 60-1

Ἥραϊοι (Ἥρφαίω) 8, 9

Ἥρακλῆς 73 Ἡ. ἐν Ἐλαιεῖ 168 Ἡ.  
ἐν Κυνοσάργει 140 Ἡράκλεια 28

Ἡράκλειον 161

Ἡρακλειώται 156

Ἡρόδοτος 38

Ἡρόστρατος 10

Ἡσίοι 51, 77

Ἡφαιστειῖς 98, 122, 175 Ἡ. οἱ ἐλ  
Δήμῳ 153

Ἡφαιστικόν 114-15

Ἡφαιστος 140

Θαργηλιών 117, 178-9

Θασθαρεῖς 75, 99

Θάσος 207-10 -σίοι 51, 56, 77, 124,  
207-8, 210, 221

Θεάγγελος 210

Θεμιστοκλῆς 18

Θεόδωρος 100

Θεοὶ 99, 114, 125, 127, 135, 148, 168,  
171, 173, 185, 201, 206, 210, 221  
Θεοὶ 69, 71 Θεὸς ξενικός 140 Cf.

Δώδεκα θεοὶ

Θεοκλῆς 6, 7; 142

Θεόπομπος 201, 223; 229

Θεότιμος 125

Θερμαῖοι 74 Θ. ἐξ Ἰκάρου 94, 120

Θερμαῖος κόλπος 131, 188, 191

Θερμοπύλαι 24

Θεσπιεῖς 22-3

Θεσσαλία 74

Θέστωρος 161

Θηβαῖοι 25, 230

Θηραῖοι 153

Θηραμένης 206, 224

Θησεύς 140

Θοραιοῦς 114, 118-19, 173, 175

Θορικός 114, 225

Θουδίππος 143, 150-2, 163

Θουκυδίδης 91-3; 138; 210

Θούριοι 89, 103

Θράκη 28, 51, 88-9, 102, 138, 145,  
147-8, 164, 182, 186, 189-90, 207-

10, 221, 224 Ἐπὶ (ἀπὸ) Θράκης φόρος  
54, 56, 95, 99 Θράκιος (φόρος) 123,

153, 156, 159, 161, 174 Θράξ 197

Θράττα 197 Θράτται 89

Θραμβάιοι 96, 124

Θρασύβουλος 20; 110, 209, 224; 211-  
13

Θρασύλοχος 225

Θράσαν 203-4

Θρία 197

Θυμαϊτάδης 225

Θύμβρα 157, 160

Θυμοχάρης 99; 202

Θύσσιοι 75, 95, 123, 156

Ἰασεῖς 97, 121, 173

Ἰάται 51, 77 Ἰῆται 98, 122, 153

Ἰδη 51, 155

Ἰδυμεῖς 74, 120, 154, 158, 163

Ἰεραμένης 227

Ἰεροκλείδης 131

Ἰεροκλῆς 83, 85; 135-6; 221

Ἰερὸς μήν 116-17

Ἰέραν 20, 27

Ἰήλυσος 88 -σίοι 75, 97, 121, 158, 173

Ἰαλύσιος (?) 6, 7

Ἰκαριεύς 125, 139-40, 202

Ἰκαρος 51, 94, 120-1, 153

Ἰκίοι 76, 95, 123

Ἰκτύος 80

Ἰλισ(σ)ός 140

Ἰλιον 160

Ἰλλυρικός 169 -ριός 197 cf. 199

Ἰμβριοι 98, 125, 153, 175

Ἰμέρα 19, 20

Ἰνάρως 42

Ἰππίας 11

Ἰπποδάμης 42-3

Ἰπποθεντίς 101-2, 130, 138, 204, 211

Ἰπποκράτης 17; 137, 145

Ἰππολυτεῖον see Ἀφροδίτη

Ἰππόνικος 79, 107, 179

Ἰσαρχος 138, 144

Ἰσθμός 19, 22

Ἰσίνδιοι 94, 120

Ἰστασος 160

Ἰστυαῖος 11, 12

Ἰστίη 1, 8

Ἰτύρα 159

Ἰντός 60-1

Ἰων 230

Ἰωνία 3, 12, 138, 142, 145, 148, 164,

222-3 Ἰωνες 39, 126, 134 Ἰανες

43 Ἰωνικός (φόρος) 54, 56, 94, 99,

120, 157, 161, 173 cf. 13

Καλαυρέατης 140

Καλίνδοια 167

Καλλίας 104-9, 111, 125-8; 173-9;

203

Καλλικράτης 79, 80

Καλλίμαχος 16, 22; 202

Καλλιπολίται 124, 155

- Καλλίστρατος 186, 190; 202, 204  
 Καλύδνιοι 75, 98, 121, 158  
 Καλυδώνιος 212  
 Καλχηδόνιοι 122, 174 Cf. Χάλχηδόνιοι  
 Καμακαί see Κημακαί  
 Κάμιρος 38 -ρείς 74, 97, 120, 158  
 Καππαδοκία 182, 199  
 Καρβασιανθείς 51, 75, 97 Κ. παρὰ  
 Καῦνον 120, 173  
 Καρία 227 Κάρ 197 Κᾶρες 51, 154  
 Καρικὸν παιδίον 197 Καρικὸς φόρος  
 54, 56, 96, 99  
 Καρίκας (Khāriga) 227-8  
 Καρκίνη 157  
 Κάρπαθος 97, 124 -θιοι 97  
 Καρσιανθείς 98, 154, 159  
 Καρυστόνικος 101-2  
 Κάρυστος 102 -τιοι 77, 98, 125, 153  
 Κάσιοι 124  
 Κασσολαβεῖς, 51, 77  
 Καῦνος 120, 173 -νιοι 75, 97, 120, 154,  
 173  
 Κεβρήνιοι 51, 155  
 Κεδριῆται 51, 97 -ριάται 75  
 Κεῖοι 22, 77, 98, 121, 153  
 Κεκροπίδαι 280  
 Κεκροπῆς 81, 101-2, 104-5, 181-2, 187,  
 179, 187-8, 208, 220, 231, 233  
 Κελένδερες 159  
 Κεραμεικός 45, 90, 128  
 Κεραμεύς 114 ἐκ Κεραμείων 118  
 Κεράμιοι 51, 97 -μείς 74  
 Κερασσοῦς 157  
 Κερία (?) 153  
 Κέρκισ 6, 7  
 Κεφαλήθεν 173, 186-7  
 Κεφαλληνία 24  
 Κηδοί 211  
 Κημακαί 167 Καμακαί 167, 174  
 Κήναιον 98, 122  
 Κήποι see Ἀφροδίτη  
 Κηφισόδωρος 197, 199  
 Κηφισοφῶν 231  
 Κιανοί 51, 76, 122, 155  
 Κίθας 161  
 Κιμμερ - - 157  
 Κιμμέριος 229  
 Κίμων 153  
 Κίμων 59, 92, 227  
 Κινδυεῖς 97, 158  
 Κιχῆσιππος 99  
 Κλαζομεναί 219-20 -νιοι 20, 51, 75,  
 94, 153, 219  
 Κλαυδεῖς 97, 158  
 Κλέανδρος 127  
 Κλέαρχος 164-6  
 Κλειγένης 202  
 Κλείπιδης 91-3, 223 Κλειππίδης 91  
 Κληῖπιδης 91 Κλιππίδης 91  
 Κλεισθένης 2, 14-15, 18, 143, 233  
 Κλείσοφος 231-8  
 Κλέοβις 4, 5  
 Κλεομήδης 186-7, 190; 230  
 Κλεοφῶν 206  
 Κλέων 185, 162, 166  
 Κλεωναί 124, 160  
 Κλεωναῖοι 45-6  
 Κλεώνυμος 180, 182  
 Κνήμις 83  
 Κνίδιοι 75, 97, 158  
 Κνώσ(σ)ός 10, 59, 60, 68 Κνώσιοι 60-8  
 Κνωσόδθεν 60 Κνωσοῖ 60 Κνωσόνδε  
 60  
 Κόδαπεῖς 75, 154  
 Κοιλεὺς 114, 118  
 Κολλυτεῖς 188, 168, 172  
 Κολοφῶν 49 -νιοι 6, 50, 75, 94, 120,  
 153, 178  
 Κόλχος 197  
 Κολωνεῖς 155  
 Κολωνήθεν 98  
 Κόμων 212  
 Κόνων 233  
 Κορήσιοι 153  
 Κόρυνθος 3, 19 -θιοι 19, 22, 43-4, 183,  
 229-30  
 Κόρυθα 3, 118, 126 Κερκυραῖοι 147  
 Κόρρις (Khārī) 227-8  
 Κορώνεια 81  
 Κοσσιταῖοι 156  
 Κράτης 112, 116; 114, 118-19; 219-20  
 Κρεσφόντης 67-8  
 Κρεῦσις 81  
 Κρήτη 61-8, 70, 72, 134  
 Κρίθις 6  
 Κρισαῖος κόλπος 64  
 Κριτιάδης 118, 125, 127  
 Κροῖσος 9, 10  
 Κροσσῆς 161  
 Κρότων, -νήται 24, 26  
 Κρυεῖς 50, 75, 97  
 Κτησίαν 99  
 Κυδαθηναεῖς 119, 185, 201-4  
 Κυδαεῖς 75  
 Κυδαντίδης 138, 186-7, 189, 204  
 Κυζικηνοί 95, 123 Κ. Στατήρες 112-14,  
 189 Κυζικηνὸν χρυσίον 186-8  
 Κύθηρα 145  
 Κύθιοι 22, 77, 98, 125, 153  
 Κυκνέας 179  
 Κυλλάνδιοι, -άντιοι 51, 74, 158  
 Κύμη (Aeol.) 94, 121, 154 -μαῖοι 74,  
 94, 121, 158, 178  
 Κύμη (Ital.) 20, 27  
 Κυνόςαργες see Ἡρακλῆς  
 Κύπρος 40, 42 cf. 228  
 Κυρβισσός 51, 154 -σεῖς 74  
 Κύρος 28  
 Κυρωμεῖς 159  
 Κώμων 229

Κωνσταντίνος, -νούπολις 22

Κῶοι 75, 97, 121, 158

Λάδη 28

Λακεδαιμόνιος 118

Λακεδαιμόνιοι 230 -μόνιοι 22, 43, 45, 133, 229

Λακιάδης 118

Λάμαχος 187, 190, 194

Λαμπτήρ 74, 112, 114, 118, 186

Λάμπων 181, 183-4

Λαμπώνεια 51-2, 77 -νειείς 95, 122, 155

Λαμψακηνοί 76, 95, 123 Λ. στατήρες 112-14

Λᾶος 60-1

Λάρισα 157, 160

Λάτμιοι 97, 121

Λαύρειον 114-15

Λάχης 126

Λεβέδιοι 94, 158

Λεοντίνιοι 125-6

Λεπρεῦται 22

Λέρως 52, 158, 173

Λέσβος 92, 134-6, 169, 223 -βιοι 135-6, 169, 171, 192

Λευκάδιοι 22-3 Λεοκάς 147

Λευκαῖος 195

Λευκονοεὺς 98

Λευκόπορος 60-1

Λεωγόρας 91, 119 ; 131

Λέων 37, 58

Λεωνίδας 24

Λεωντίς 78-9, 101-2, 119, 139-40, 203, 207, 209

Λεωχάρης 187

Λήμνος 153

Ληρισαῖοι 158

Λητώ 5, 78

Ληψίμανδοι 77 -ιμανδεῖς 154 -νανδεῖς 98

Λιλύβαιον, -ος 57

Λιμναῖοι 95, 123, 154

Λίνδος 38, 97, 120, 173 -διοι 51, 75, 97, 120, 158, 173

Λιπαράιοι 10

Λόβων 211

Λοκροί 31-6, 64-5, 134 -ρίς 34-5

Λύγαμης 37-9

Λυδή 198

Λυκία 58, 227 -κιοι 226-7

Λυκοφρονίδας 60, 62

Λυκωτάδας 60, 62

Λύσανδρος 134, 228-30

Λυσίθεος 225

Λυσικλῆς 187

Μαγνησία 12

Μαδνασεῖς 98, 121

Μαδύτιοι 95, 123, 155, 174

Μάζαρος 57

Μαιάνδριοι 51, 158

Μαιμακτηριών 148

Μακεδονία 129, 131, 222-4

Μαλοφόρος 73

Μαντίνεια 24, 176-7 -νεις 175-6

Μαραθήσιοι 94, 120

Μαραθών, -νιος 16-17, 188, 202, 204

Μαρωνίται 51, 74, 124 -νειείς 96

Μαχανεύς 60-1

Μεγαβάτης 37

Μεγακλείδης 130, 132, 137

Μεγακλῆς 17-18

Μέγαρα 73, 81 -ρείς 22, 24-5, 212, 229 -ρίς 81, 145 -ροί 40

Μεθώνη 189, 210 -ναῖοι 129-32

Μελάντας 60, 62

Μελήσανδρος 227

Μελιτεύς 114

Μελίτη, -τηνή 199 -τηνός or -τηνή 198-9

Μέλτας 62

Μένανδρος 99

Μενδαῖοι 50, 77, 96, 123, 125

Μένδη (Thrace) 147 -δαῖος 146

Μενεκλῆς 173

Μενέτιμος 74

Μένυλλος 78

Μεσηνία 68 -σήνιοι 33 -σάνιοι 146-7

Μεταγειτνιών 116, 225-6

Μεταγένης 112-14 ; 118-19

Μῆδοι 16-17, 19, 23, 47, 87

Μήθυμνα, -αῖοι 135-6, 169, 171

Μηκυπερναῖοι 51, 96, 123, -υβερναῖοι 74, 161

Μῆλος 186-8, 191-2 -λοι 152 Μάλιοι 22, 133-4, 229

Μήτηρ 4, 5 Μ. ἐν Ἀγρας 140

Μητρόπολις παρὰ Πιρίατον 160

Μητρώον 177

Μίλητος 11, 12, 49, 67-8 -ήσιοι 19, 20, 51-2, 94, 121, 158, 173, 229 -ησιουρ-γής 169, 171, 199, 200

Μιλκάριοι 124

Μλυσοβ (?) 7

Μνασίλοχος 201

Μνησίθεος 104-5

Μνησικλῆς 87, 111

Μοιραγένης 79

Μολοβρός 133-4

Μόλων 134

Μουνιχία 206 cf. Ἀρτεμῖς -χιών 190

Μούσαι 139-40

Μυδόρες 51, 75, 97

Μυήσσιοι 94, 158

Μυκάλη 22, 28 Μοικάλη 25

Μυκανεῖς 22

Μυκόνιοι 76, 98, 121, 153

Μυλασεῖς 97

Μύνδοι 75, 98 M. παρὰ Τέρμερα 159, 173

Μύρινα (Aeolis) 120, 173 -ναῖοι 74  
-ναῖοι παρὰ Κύμην 94, 121, 154

Μυρναῖοι (Lemnos) 98, 125, 153, 175

Μυρρινούσιος 99, 138

Μυσαγεῖς 32, 34-5

Μυσία 154 -σοί 51, 94, 154

Μυτιλήνη 136, 223 -ναῖοι 135-6, 156

Μαρυχίδης 103

Ναξιάδης 102

Ναξιάται 75, 120 -ῖται 97

Νάξος 89, 102 -ιοι 22, 76, 98, 121, 152

Ναρισβαρεῖς 51, 74, 99

Ναύπακτος, -τιοι 21, 31-6, 146-7

Ναυσικίδης 230

Νεάνδρεια 51 -ρεῖς 122, 155

Νεάπολις (Thrace) 74, 208-10 N. ἐν  
Θράκη 51, 209 N. παρ' Ἀντισάραν  
209 Νεοπολῖται 95, 207-10 N. οἱ  
παρὰ Θάσον 207, 209 N. οἱ ἀπὸ  
Θράκης 208-9 N. παρ' Ἀντισάραν  
123

Νεάπολις (Hellest.) 122 Νεοπολῖται  
παρὰ Χερρόνησον 154

Νεμέα 5

Νεοκλείδης 178

Νεοπολῖται 51-2, 77, 96 N. Μενδαίων  
123 Cf. Νεάπολις

Νηλεὺς, -εῖδαι 68

Νῆσοι 148, 164 -σιωτικὸς (φόρος) 54,  
56, 98-9, 121, 152-3, 161, 175

Νικέας 168, 172

Νίκη 19, 20, 44, 105, 110, 146-8, 172,  
202 Cf. Ἀθηναία Νίκη

Νικήρατος 138, 186-7, 189; 204, 206

Νικίας 138-9, 145, 186-7, 189-91, 194,  
206

Νικόμαχος 215

Νικοφῶν 231

Νικωνία 157

Νίσαια 74 -αῖοι 25

Νισύριοι 94, 121

Νότιον 154, 173 -τιεῖς 50, 52, 75, 94,  
120

Ξανθῆς 116

Ξάνθιππος 17-18; 92

Ξενοφάνης 187; 214-15

Ξέρξης 20

Ξυπεταῶν 99

Ὀζόλαι 32, 65

Ὀθῶριοι 96, 160

Ὀῤῥθεν 186-7

Οἰάνθεια 31, 63-5 -θεὺς 64-6 -θίς 64

Οἰάται 51

Οἰναῖοι 74 Οἱ. ἐν Ἰκάρῳ 51, 158 Οἱ.  
ἐξ Ἰκάρον 94, 121

Οἰνῆς 101, 138, 145, 148-9, 203

Οἰνιάδαι 146

Οἰνιάδης 221

Οἰνύβιος 208, 210

Οἶον 103, 138

Ὀλβία 157

Ὀλοφύξιοι 50, 75, 95, 128, 165

Ὀλπαι 147

Ὀλυμπία 22-4, 27, 44, 133, 146, 177

Ὀλύμπια 9 -ιονίκης 230 Ὀλύμπιος  
16 Cf. Ζεὺς

Ὀλυμπύδαρος 210

Ὀλύνθιοι 51, 96, 128, 167

Ὀμγυσοβ (?) 6

Ὀνάσιππος 58

Ὀποῦς, -όντιοι 31-6

Ὀρανίηται 50, 156, 158, 160

Ὀροίτης 12

Ὀρχομενός (Arc.) 24

Ὀτληνοί 154, 160

Ὀυλιάται 75 Cf. Αὔλιᾶται

Ὀφρύνειον 157, 160

Πάβις 6, 7

Παιανιεύς 173, 186, 195, 231

Παισηνοί 77, 122, 155

Παιώνιος 146-8

Παλαιπερκώσιοι 75, 94, 123, 155, 174

Παλαισκιάθιος 221

Πάλη 24

Παλλάδιον 140

Παλλάς 15, 87

Παλληγεύς 187

Παλλήνη 147

Παλληνίς see Ἀθηναία

Παμφυλία 58, 159

Παναθήναια 90, 105-6, 119, 130-1, 137,  
139, 144, 149, 168, 172, 188, 195

Π. τὰ μεγάλα 46, 88, 149-51, 170,  
202, 205 Π. τὰ μικρά 190

Παναμῆτης 37, 39, 40

Πανδιονίς 81, 101, 137-9, 204

Πάνδροσος 110

Πανέλληνες 183 cf. 182, 184

Πανύσσας 37-8

Παρθένος 208-9

Πάρριον 155 -ιανοί 51, 95, 123, 154

Πάρριοι 76, 98, 125, 132

Παρπάριοι 76 -ῖται 97

Πασανδεῖς 97, 120, 173

Πασίδων 7

Πασικράτα 74 -κράτεια 73-4

Πασιφῶν 6, 204

Πατρα - 157

Πανσανίας 23

Πάχης 223

Πεδιεῖς 75 Π. ἐλ Αἰνδῶν 97, 173 Π. ἐγ  
Αἰνδῶν 120



Πειραιεύς (deme) 80, 194, 197 (demonic) 103, 187  
 Πείσανδρος 213  
 Πεισίστρατος 11 -τίδαι 11  
 Πελαργικόν 181, 184  
 Πελεάται 98, 120  
 Πέλεκος 6  
 Πελοπόννησος 138, 145 -σίοι 81, 207  
 Πεντελῆσι 112, 114  
 Πεπαρήθιοι 50, 76, 96, 123, 156  
 Πέργαμον 153  
 Πέργασῆθεν 175, 187  
 Περδικκας 130-2, 167  
 Περικλῆς 18, 56, 78, 81, 87, 89, 92-3, 100, 107, 119, 133, 162, 170, 179, 184, 194, 205 (the younger) 208, 205, 222-3  
 Περίνθιοι 95, 122  
 Περκοθαρία 32, 34-5  
 Περκάτῃ 77, 95 -κώσιοι 123, 155  
 Πέρσαι 12, 13, 17, 19, 28-9, 87 -σικός 24  
 Περσεφόνη 74, 183  
 Πηγαί (Παγαί) 81  
 Πηδασεῖς 74 Πιδασεῖς 159  
 Πήλιον 25  
 Περία 129 -ρες ἐμ Περγάμῃ 153  
 Πίκρης 51-2  
 Πίσσα 9  
 Πισίνδηλις 38  
 Πιστασος 124  
 Πίστος 197, 199  
 Πιταναῖοι 50, 74, 94, 121  
 Πλαγασεῖς 74, 97, 158  
 Πλαδασεῖς 153  
 Πλαταιαί 22-5 -αῖς 22  
 Πλειστίας 131, 138, 150  
 Πλειστοάναξ 81  
 Πλεύμη 161  
 Πλούτων 183  
 Πολιάς see Ἀθηναία  
 Πολιεύς see Ζεύς  
 Πολιχνῖται (Thrace) 51 Π. παρὰ Στω-  
 λον 156  
 Πολιχνῖται (Ion.) 94, 158 -ναῖοι 76  
 Πολιχνῖται (Hell.) 155  
 Πολυάρατος 203  
 Πολύζηλος 20  
 Πολυκράτης 10  
 Πολυμήδης 4; 195  
 Πόλυμνις 231  
 Πολυξενίδης 195  
 Πολύστρατος 197, 199  
 Πόντος 132 -τικαὶ πόλεις 156, 161-2  
 Πορδοσελήνη cf. Προσελήνη  
 Ποσειδών 22, 229-30 Π. ἐπὶ Σουνίῃ  
 139-40 Π. Καλυνδείης 140 Ποσει-  
 δάν 60-1 Ποτειδάν 73  
 Ποσιδεον 161 Π. ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ 153  
 Ποσιδεῖον 149, 151, 184 -δηῖον 116

Ποτασιμῶ 6  
 Ποτειδαία 107, 126-9, 132 -δαία 130  
 -δαῖται 22 -δεῖται 96, 124, 167  
 Πραξιβούλος 173  
 Πράσιλλος 174  
 Πρεσβίας 168, 172  
 Πρίαπος 160 Π. παρὰ Πάριον 155  
 Πριαπεῖς 75, 122  
 Πριηνεῖς 94 -ανεῖς 77, 158  
 Προβαλλίσιος 225  
 Προκοννήσιοι 95, 123  
 Πρόξενος 203-4  
 Προποντίς 51, 122, 154, 218  
 Προσελήνη 158 Πορδοσελήνη 158, 160  
 Προσπάλτιος 186  
 Πρωταρχος 225  
 Πρωτέας 118  
 Πρωτόνικος 114  
 Πετλεουσίοι 76, 94, 154  
 Πυγελεῖς 94, 121, 158  
 Πύδνα 222, 224  
 Πυθία 183 Πύθιον 11; 70 Πύθιος cf.  
 Ἀπόλλων Πυθοῖ 26 Πυθῶδε 60  
 Πυθίαν 81-2  
 Πυθόδοτος 230  
 Πυθόδωρος 185-6  
 Πυθοπολίται 160  
 Πύθων 6  
 Πύλαι, Πυλαία 78  
 Πύλος 134, 145, 203, 205-6  
 Πύρριοι 74, 97, 120  
 Ῥήγιον 127 Ῥνοῖ 127  
 Ῥήγεια 116-17 -ναεῖς 75, 122, 153  
 -ναῖοι 98  
 Ῥίγαν 186, 188, 190  
 Ῥόδος 38, 58, 173  
 Ῥοίτειον 160  
 Ῥύνδαξ 154, 159  
 Ῥώμη 2, 72-3  
 Σαλαμίς 13-15, 19, 21, 25 6, 38  
 (Cypr.) 228  
 Σάλη 161  
 Σαλμακίς, -ῖται 37-8  
 Σαμβακτὺς 50  
 Σαμοθράκες 75, 96, 124  
 Σάμος 10, 39, 186, 188, 203-5, 224,  
 230, 232-3 -μοῖ 54, 103-4, 139,  
 142, 153, 230-4  
 Σαναῖοι 50, 46, 124  
 Σαρταῖοι 124, 174  
 Σαρύσσαλλος 37  
 Σάτυρος 98  
 Σελινούς, -όντιοι (-οῦν-) 57, 73-4  
 Σερβυλεῖς cf. Σερμυλεῖς  
 Σεριστεῖται 174  
 Σερίφιοι 24, 76, 98, 121, 153  
 Σέρμη 160 -μείς 56, 76, 96 -μαῖοι  
 123

Σερμυλιεύς 51, 96, 125, 208-9    Σερβυ-  
 λιεύς 77  
 Σέρρειον 161, 207, 210  
 Σηλυμβρία 217-20    -ανοί 76, 95, 123,  
 217-19  
 Σήστοι 95, 122, 155, 174  
 Σιβυρτιάδης 207  
 Σιβύρτιος 222  
 Σίγγιοι 51, 76, 96, 124, 161  
 Σιγείεις 76, 95, 122, 155, 174  
 Σιδούσιοι 76, 94  
 Σικελία 57, 126, 187-8, 190-1, 194,  
 230  
 Σικινῆται 153  
 Σικυνών 230    -άνιοι 22  
 Σιληνός 127  
 Σίμος 212  
 Σιμωνίδης 19, 24-5, 228  
 Σίνος 125, 161, 174  
 Σίρις 103  
 Σίφνος 163    -νιοι 22-3, 77, 98, 121,  
 152  
 Σκαβλαῖοι 51, 77, 96, 124  
 Σκαμβωνίδης 138, 186-7  
 Σκαφαῖοι 76, 95, 123  
 Σκελ(λ)ίας 206  
 Σκίαθος 221    -θιοι 95, 123, 221  
 Σκιροφοριών 140  
 Σκιώνη 142    -ναῖοι 96, 125  
 Σκόπας 129  
 Σκύθης 197  
 Σκύλαξ 211  
 Σμισίων 1  
 Σμόκορδος 99  
 Σμύρνη 163  
 Σόλων 2, 4, 215  
 Σομβία 154, 159, 174  
 Σούνιον 139-40  
 Σοφίας 94  
 Σοφίλος 41, 43  
 Σοφοκλῆς 98-9  
 Σπάρταλος 167    -λιοι 50, 75, 96, 124  
 156  
 Σπουδίας 208  
 Σταγυρίται 74, 95, 125  
 Στρατοκλῆς 138, 144, 150  
 Στρεψαῖοι 51, 75, 96, 124, 153  
 Στρυμών 89, 189  
 Στρωσίας 99  
 Στυρεῖς 22, 77, 98, 122, 153  
 Στῶλος 156    -λιοι 51, 75, 96, 125  
 Συναγγελεῖς 74, 97    -λεὺς 51-2  
 Συλιμεῖς 77  
 Συλοσῶν 10  
 Σύμη 124, 159, 163  
 Συράκουσαι 126    -κόσιοι 19, 27, 194  
 Συρία 13    Σύρος 197  
 Σύριοι 75, 98, 121, 153  
 Σφακτηρία 134, 146-7  
 Σφήττιος 203

Σῶσις 125  
 Σώφιλος 41, 43  
 Ταμυράκη 157  
 Τάναγρα 43-5  
 Τάρας 103, 202    -αντῖνοι 103, 201-2  
 Ταρβανεῖς 159  
 Τεγεᾶται 22  
 Τειθράσιος 118  
 Τεῖσαμενός 195, 215  
 Τείσανδρος 91-2; 229-30  
 Τεισίας 186-7, 190  
 Τειχιούσσα 52, 158, 173  
 Τελεᾶς 187  
 Τελεμήσιοι 158  
 Τελένικος 42; 187  
 Τενέδιοι 74, 95, 122  
 Τέρμερα 159, 173    -ρεῖς 51, 74, 98, 121,  
 158  
 Τεῦκρος 199  
 Τέως 27-8    Τῆτη 28    Τῆτιοι 6, 27-  
 30, 76, 94, 121    Τῆμιοι 153  
 Τηλάνδριοι 75, 97, 120, 154  
 Τήλεφος 6  
 Τηλέφανος 187, 190  
 Τῆλος 159  
 Τήνιοι 22, 24, 76, 98, 121, 153  
 Τίμαρχος 187  
 Τιμήνωρ 125  
 Τιμόθεος 131  
 Τιμοκλῆς 103, 138-9  
 Τιμόξενος 125-7  
 Τιμοσθένης 115  
 Τιμόστρατος 114  
 Τιμοτέλης 179  
 Τιμωνίδης 129  
 Τιρύνθιοι 22  
 Τισσαφέρνης 22  
 Τορωναῖοι 77, 96, 125  
 Τράϊλος 161  
 Τριποαῖ 161, 174    -ποιαῖ 167  
 Τριπτόλεμος 180  
 Τροζάνιοι 22, 229  
 Τρωάς 156    Τρωικός see Αστυρα  
 Τυλασός, -ιος 59-63  
 Τύμνης 99, 158    Τύμνιοι (?) 158  
 Τυνδαρίδαι 73  
 Τύρας 157  
 Τυρόδιζα 154  
 Τυρ(ρ)ανός 27  
 Τύχη 99, 114, 163, 171

Τακίνθια see Φακίνθια

Τδαεῖς 159

Τδισσεῖς 76

Τλλεύς 60, 62

Τμησεῖς 159    Τμυσεῖς 76

Τποκραμίδιοι (Λοκροί) 31-6

Τρωμεῖς 97, 154

Υστάσσης 12

Υών ὅρος 60-1

Φαείνος 118

Φαίνιππος 129, 131-2

Φάλαθος 208

Φαληρεὺς 178

Φαντοκλῆς 88, 90

Φαρβήλιοι 75, 96, 124, 160

Φάσηλις, -ῖται 51, 58-9, 75, 97, 121, 158

Φάσις 156

Φάυλλος 26

Φαίδελείδης 99

Φειδίας 99, 100, 115

Φελλεύς 222-8

Φερεκλείδης 187

Φηγαεύς 168, 172 -αεύς 210

Φηγήτιοι 77, 96, 124

Φιλαίδης 178

Φιλέταιρος 120, 125

Φιλημονίδης 120, 125

Φιλίνος 212

Φίλιππος 131

Φιλιστίδης 212

Φιλοκλῆς 238

Φιλοκράτης 191

Φιλόμηλος 188

Φίλων 202

Φλειάσιοι 22, 25

Φλυεύς 137, 186-7, 203

Φόβος 78

Φοῖβος 28

Φοινίκη 40, 42 Φοίνισσα 19, 25

Φολέγανδρος 158

Φορμίων 21, 87, 185

Φρασιτελίδης 202

Φρεάρριος 18, 103, 204, 214

Φρύνιχος 40, 43; 129; 211-13

Φυλάσιος 187

Φυρόμαχος 103

Φωκκαίς 75, 94, 158

Φωκείς 22, 78

Φωκιάδης 138

Χαιριμένης 207

Χαλείον 83, 63-5 -λειαίς 32, 36, 64-5

-λεις 64-5

Χαλκεῖται 74, 97, 121, 154

Χαλκήτορες 75, 97, 120, 154

Χαλκιδεύς 219

Χαλκιδική 190

Χαλκίς 15, 82-7 -κιδεῖς 15, 21-2, 49,

77, 82-7, 98, 121, 124, 136, 158

-κιδικός 169

Χαλχηδόνιοι 76, 95 cf. Καλχηδόνιοι

Χαρίας 125, 127

Χαραύδης 126

Χαρσιδίδης 138

Χάρσιψ 4

Χεδράλιοι 124 Cf. Έδράλιοι

Χερρονήσιοι 74, 96, 120, 158

Χερρονησίται 50, 95, 123 Χ. ἀπ' Ἄγο-  
ρας 154, 174

Χερρόνησος 100, 102, 154-5, 174

Χερσίφρων 10

Χερσόνησος 89

Χίος, Χίοι 1, 2, 20, 48, 58-9, 183-4

Χίαι νῆες 192 Χιονργής 169, 171

Χίοι 51, 74 Χ. Κᾶρες 154

Χολαργεύς 137, 203

Χρόνιος 43

Χρύση 160

Χρυσόπολις 109

Ψαμ(μ)άτιχος 6, 7 Ψαμματᾶς 6, 7

Ψάμμος 6, 7

᾽Ολένιος 183-4

᾽Ολέριος 184

᾽Ορεός 85

• έρεία παρὰ Βρύλλειον 154

• ίαιρος 161

## INDEX II. SUBJECTS

- Abu Simbel graffiti 4  
 Accounts: Athenian 47, 50, 52-5, 64, 75, 79-81, 83, 85, 92 Spartan 62  
 Alliances 5 (Elis-Heraea), 31 (Athens-Egesta), 39 (Athens-Phocis), 57 (Athens-Leontini), 58 (Athens-Rhegium), 68 (Athens-Bottiaean), 72 (Athens-Argos-Mantineia-Elis)  
 Alphabets: Argive 3 (?), 28, 33 Attic 8, 11-15, 18, 21, 26, 29-31, 38-40, 42-8, 50-3, 55-61, 63-4, 66, 68-80, 83-4, 86-8, 91-2 Corinthian 2, 18, 27 Cretan 36 Delphian 17 Elian 5 Ionic 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 23, 25, 32, 35, 41, 45, 54, 65, 67, 73, 81-2, 85, 89, 90, 93-6 Laconian 19, 62 Laconian-Tarentine 49 Locrian 34 Megarian-Selinuntine 37 Phocian 3 Syracusan 17, 22 W. Locrian 24 Amendment or Rider 31, 40, 42, 44, 66, 68, 74, 84, 86, 90, 96  
 Arbitration 33  
 Athenian Accounts, Calendar, Casualty-lists, Inventories, League, Tribute. See Accounts, etc.  
 Athenian Allies at Tanagra 28 Cleruchies 11, 63, 89 Colonies 44, 60 Empire 49, 56, 84, 109, 132, 156, 162-7 cf. Leagues, Tribute  
 Athenian Finance 51 cf. Accounts, Tribute Honours to Agoratus 86 Apollodorus 88 Archelaus 91 Callimachus 13 Oeniades 90 Phayllus 21 Thrasylbulus 86 cf. 31, 63, 84, 96  
 Athenian Portico 18, 147  
 Athenian Relations with Argos 28, 72 Bottiaean 68 Chalcis 42 Clazomenae 89 Cleonae 28 Colophon 49 Coreyra 55 126 Daphnus 89 Delos 54, 85 Egesta 31 Eleusis 74 Elis 72 Eretria 82 Erythrae 29 Euboea 206 cf. Chalcis, Eretria Leontini 57 Macedonia 61, 91 Mantineia 72 Methone 61 Miletus 49, 68 Mytilene 63 Neapolis 84 Phaselis 32 Phocis 39 Potidaea 59, 80 Rhegium 58 Salamis 11 Samos 50, 96 Selymbria 88 Sicily 75, 77, 126  
 Athenian Treasury 14 Victories 12-14, 18, 43 cf. 22, 24 Weights Measures, and Money 67  
 Athens 2, 72, 134 See Athenian  
 Behistun inscription 13  
 Berlin 49  
 Boustrophedon script 1, 2, 4 (i), 9  
 British Museum 5, 6, 22, 24-5, 28, 34, 58-9, 70, 75, 78  
 Calendar: Athenian 64, 179, 201, 204 Intercalation 181, 183-4 Cnossian 60-1 Delian 117 Tylian 60-1 See Year  
 Casualty-lists 26, 28, 48, cf. 59  
 Choiseul Marble 83  
 Commerce 23, 32-4, 61, 88  
 Corn 28-9, 130, 132, 62, 197, 199, 83  
 Curses 23  
 Decrees: Athenian 11, 29, 31-2, 39, 40, 42, 44, 51, 57-8, 61, 63, 67-8, 73-4, 76-7, 84, 86-91, 96 Eretrian 82 Milesian 35  
 Dedications 3, 6-9, 12-14, 17-19, 22, 27, 43, 49, 60, 65, 94-5: cf. 21, 37  
 Dialects:  
   Doric: Laconia 19, 27, 62 Taras 49 Messenia 65 Argos 3 (?), 28, 33 Corinth 16 Coreyra 2 Syracuse 22 Megara 20 Selinus 37 Crete 33, 36 N.W. Greece 3, 24, 34 Elis 5 cf. 4, 94, 95  
   Aeolic: Boeotia 94 (c)  
   Ionic: 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 17, 23, 25, 35, 82 cf. 10  
 Epitaphs 2, 16, 20, 26, 28, 41, 48, 59, 93  
 Expedition: Egyptian 26 Megarian 41 Melian 75, 76 Sicilian 75, 77 cf. 165, 221  
 Graffiti 4  
 Homicide, Law of 87  
 Hostages. See *δμῖνος* (Index III)  
 Inventories 69, 70, 78

Laws: Athens (Draco) 87 Chios 1  
Gortyn 36 Halicarnassus 25  
Locris 24 Miletus 35 Oeanthea  
34

Leagues: Athenian 38, 48, 90 Delian  
29, 53, 55, 59, 117, 227 cf. Athenian  
Empire Peloponnesian 57

Letter of Darius 10

London. See British Museum

Lycian Coins, Language, Script 227-8

Mercenaries 4, 98

Metrical inscriptions 2, 8, 12, 13, 16,  
20-2, 27-8, 41, 43, 48, 59, 65, 93,  
95

New York, Inscription at 66

Nointel Marble 26

Ostracism 15, 45

Paint in Inscriptions 11

Paris, Inscriptions at 10, 26, 51, 63,  
70, 83

Peace of Nicias 108, 117, 162, 167,  
175, 188

Peloponnesian League. See Leagues

Peloponnesian War. See Wars

Piracy 23, 34 cf. 7

Provenance. See Sources

Quadruple Alliance 72

Quota-lists. See Tribute

Retrograde script 3

Revolts: Eretrian 82 Euboean 42,  
87, 206 Helot 147 Ionian 13  
Lesbian 63, 171, 223 Samian 50,  
102, 206, 227 Thasian 84

Signatures: Engravers 4 Poets 20,  
95 Sculptors 3, 17, 65, 94

Sources: Abu Simbel (Nubia) 4

Argos 33 Athens 8, 11-13, 15, 21,  
26, 28-32, 38-48, 50-61, 63-4,  
66, 68-73, 75-81, 83-4, 86-92,  
96 Chios 1 Coreyra 2 Delos 85

Delphi 3, 14, 17-19, 94-5 Didyma 9

Eleusis 74 Ephesus 6

Eretria 82 Gortyn 36 Halicarnassus 25

Magnesia 10 Megara 20

Miletus 35 Oeanthea 24, 34

Olympia 5, 22, 27, 49, 65 Salamis 16

Samos 7 Selinus 37

Siphnos 67 Smyrna (?) 67 Sparta 62

Syme 67 Teos 23

Xanthus 93

Sparta, Spartans 19, 27, 62, 94, 95,

78, 146, 183, 202, 206, 212, 220,

223

Temple-funds 40, 54, 73, 74, 85

Timber 224

Treaties 34, 88 cf. 89 See also  
Alliances

Tribute: Assessments 66 Quota-  
lists 30, 38, 46, 56, 71

Wars: Archidamian 62-5, 68, 108

Dacelean 134, 206 Ionian 82-4,

88-9, 91, 94-6 Peloponnesian

(First) 26-8 Peloponnesian

(Great) 72, 75-7, 83, 54-6, 85, 107,

110, 115, 125, 152, 166, 184 See

also Archidamian, Dacelean,

Ionian Persian 13-14, 16, 18-21,

88 Sacred (Second) 39 Sacred

(Third) 22 Samian see Revolt,

Samian

Xanthian stele 93

Year: Civil 141, 184 Panathenaic

105-7, 110, 137, 139, 144, 152, 226

Senatorial 143-4, 204

# INDEX III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

This index, which lays no claim to completeness, contains a selection of dialect-forms and technical words and phrases, primarily those which are explained or illustrated in the commentary.

ἀγάλα 99, 100  
 ἄγγελος ἀθανάτων 16  
 ἀγορά 32, 164, 214, 226 ἀγορή 25  
     ἱερὴ ἀγορὴ 37, 39  
 ἄγω 6, 7, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72  
 ἄδεια 106, 111, 186-9  
 ἄδος 36-8  
 ἀδύνατος 13-14, 149  
 ἀφρήτευε 60, 62  
 ἀθλοθέται 188, 190, 202, 205  
 αἰεῖ, αἰεῖ 105, 111, 212, 221 αἰφεῖ 31  
 αἰ 67  
 αἰσυμένης, -τάω, -τεία 28-30  
 ἀλίατα 60  
 ἁκρόπολις 87, 106, 227, 230  
 ἁκρατήρια 21, 146, 148  
 ἀλ(λ)όγλασ(σ)οί 6, 7  
 ἀλοῖ 1, 3 ἄλω, ἄλντος 47  
 ἄμυδρός 11  
 ἄμφικέφαλος, -κνέφαλλος 199, 200  
 ἄμφιμυλῶν 69, 72  
 ἀναγραφεύς 214-15  
 ἀνάκλις 199, 200  
 ἀνδιχάζω 64  
 ἀνεθέθη 180-1  
 ἀνομολογεῖσθαι, -γῆμα 203-5  
 ἀναθεοῖν 28-9  
 ἀξαν 214  
 ἀπαρχή 49, 52-3, 55-6, 114-15, 131,  
     173, 208-10 ἄ. (τοῦ) καρποῦ 180-1,  
     183 ἄ. τοῦ ἐλαίου 181 ἄ. τοῦ σίτου  
     183, 185 ἀπάρχομαι 179-80  
 ἀπατος 70, 78  
 ἀπὸ στρατιάς 115  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων 146  
 ἀποδέκται 222-3  
 ἀποκία 88-9, 108, 207-8, 210 ἀποικι-  
     σταί 88-9 ἀποικοί 75, 88, 150-1, 210  
 ἀποκυαμένω 46, 105  
 ἀποπανῶν 69, 72  
 ἀπόταξις 55, 162  
 ἀποστῆ 70, 72  
 ἀργυροκόπιον 164  
 ἀρέσται 32-3  
 ἀριστεύω 3, 4, 227  
 ἀριστινδαν 64 -δην 214  
 ἀρτύναι 62  
 ἀρχαυρεσίαι 108, 110  
 ἀρχή (archonship) 11, 13 (magis-

tracy) 46, 105, 166 (year of office)  
 74, 94, 114, 120, 137-9, 173, 186-8  
 (empire) 149 ἀρχά 32 αἱ τέτταρες  
 ἀρχαί 106, 111, 163, 171, 195  
 ἀρχιερεὺς 24  
 ἀρχός 32  
 ἀρχω (with gen.) 175-6, 208  
 ἀρχων (Athenian eponymous) 13, 166,  
     181 ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος 78, 103, 112, 116,  
     118, 125, 127, 137-40, 150, 185-7,  
     201-2, 211 ἐπὶ ἄ. Ἀθηναίους 49 ἐπὶ  
     Ἀθηνησι(ν) ἄ. 116, 210 ἥρχε 56,  
     207, 211, 214, 221-2, 231 ἥρχε  
     Ἀθηναίους 173  
 ἀρχων (Athenian) 58 ἄ. βασιλεὺς 216  
 cf. 181, 215 ἀρχοντες 105 (?) (in  
 allied cities) 208, 221 cf. 203 δ  
 ἀρχων = in office 105 (?), 208  
 ἀρχων (Bottiaean) 166-7 (Delian)  
     116, 210 (Selymbrian) 217 (allied)  
     164-5  
 ἀστή 79 cf. φασ(σ)τός  
 ἀσυλος 64  
 ἀτακτος 54  
 ἀτέλεια 83, 86 -λείη 202 -λείς 130  
 ἀτιμία 83 ἀτιμος 32, 36, 83, 88, 149  
     -μόω 82, 217  
 ἀτρέκεια 12  
 αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι 54  
 αὐτοκράτωρ 88, 105, 150, 182, 192, 194  
 αὐτόνομος 135-6, 217, 232  
 βασιλεὺς 6, 9, 12, 60, 181, 215-16 -λείς  
     1, 2, 214, 216 -λε(ί)α 227 -λέω 1  
     -λεύς βασιλεύων 12-13 -λειος 214-15  
 βουλευτής 46, 48, 85 -λευτήριον 149,  
     163, 180, 182, 212 -λεύω 46-7, 212,  
     214, 221  
 βουλή (Athens) *passim* (Bottiaei) 166\*  
     (Eretria) 201 (Erythrae) 46, 48  
     (Samos) 231 β. ἡ δημοσίη 1, 2  
     βωλά 60  
 γεωνόμος, -μης 88-9  
 γνώμη 47, 149, 221, 231-3 γνῶμαι  
     130, 151, 167  
 γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς 57-8, 83, 135,  
     149-50, 164, 181, 208, 212, 214, 217,  
     219, 221, 232

# INDEX III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES 253

δαδούχος 180, 183  
 δαμοργοί 64, 66  
 δᾶμος 8, 31  
 δαίμων 232, 234  
 δεκάτη 15, 87, 105, 109 -άτα 43, 60,  
 103, 146-7  
 δέκαχα 232-3  
 δημαρχος, -έω 1, 2, 179-80  
 δημόπρατα 200  
 δῆμος (dome) 179-80, 211  
 δῆμος (people) (Athens) *passim*  
 (Chios) 1, 2 (Erythrae) 46-7, 49  
 (Miletus) 68 (Rhodes) 38  
 δημόσιον 13, 130, 149, 232  
 δημόσιος 1, 2, 47, 79, 80, 83, 88, 149-50  
 διαδικασία, -ασία 149-51  
 δίκαια 32 64, 69 δ. ἐπιδασία 64 δ. πρό-  
 δικος 32  
 δικάζω 1, 69, 150, 211, 214 -άζομαι  
 37, 64  
 δικαστήριον 149-50, 212, 222 -στάς 69  
 -στήρ 32 -στής 37, 57, 82, 149  
 -στικός 179, 206  
 δίκη 58, 149-51, 217 δίκας διδόναι καὶ  
 δέχεσθαι\* 135, 166, 232 δίκαι ἀπὸ  
 ξυμβολῶν 58-9, 64, 217-18 δίκαι ἐκ-  
 κλητοὶ 1, 58-9  
 διπλείων φωνήσων 64, 66  
 διωβελία 203, 205-6, 225-6  
 δοκιμάζω, -μασία 46-8  
 δοῦλος 12, 13  
 δρομεύς 69, 72  
 δυνός 4, 5  
  
 ζα 8  
 ἐγγλέγω 179-80, 191 -λογεύς 180, 182  
 ζῆδρα 88, 131, 150, 212  
 εἰρήνη 232  
 εἰς- See ἐς-  
 Ἑκατόμπεδος νέως 172  
 ἐκκαλίσθω 1  
 ἐκκλησία 131, 193  
 ἐκκλητὸς 1, 58, 59  
 ἐκφέρει 80, 149-50, 181, 212  
 Ἑλληνοταμίαι 49, 105-7, 114-15, 137-  
 8, 173, 185-9, 201-4, 211-12, 214,  
 224-5, 232 -ταμίαι 98, 120.  
 Ἑλλησποντοφύλακες 130, 132  
 ἑλπίς 127-8  
 ἐν = ἐς 31-3 ἐνς = ἐς 60  
 ἐναγίζω 25  
 ἐναίετια 110, 113  
 ἐνετήρια 31  
 ἐνθανοῦ 180-1  
 ἐνιαυτός 40, 42-3, 69, 106, 112-14, 130,  
 203, 207 κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν 105-6,  
 111, 136  
 ἐγκαλιέμενος 32, 36  
 ἐνορκος 31  
 ἐνπιπασκομαι 60-1

ἐντιμος 32, 36  
 ἐξάγω 60, 88, 130, 181 ἐξαγωγή, -γή  
 60, 130  
 ἐξαιρετα χρήματα 194-5  
 ἐξάμου 230, 232-3  
 ἐξηγέομαι 180 -γητής, -γησις 183  
 ἐξορκός 57, 83  
 ἐπάγω 64, 66  
 ἐπαίνέω (with dat.) 207-8, 210, 221-2,  
 231-2  
 ἐπαρή 28  
 ἐπίαρον 8  
 ἐπίβλημα, -βλήτιον, -βόλαιον 200  
 ἐπιδέικνυμι 79, 80, 181  
 ἐπιφοικία, -κοι 31-2 cf. ἐποικοι  
 ἐπιθώϊος 1, 3  
 ἐπικαλέω 37, 40  
 ἐπικαρπία 197, 199  
 ἐπιμήνιοι, -νίη 67  
 ἐπίσκοπος 46, 48  
 ἐπίστασις 10  
 ἐπιστάται (commissioners) 99, 100,  
 105-6, 110-15, 165, 185 -τίω 100,  
 106  
 ἐπιστάτης (president) 84, 107, 220  
 ἐπεσάται *passim*  
 ἐπιφορά 54-5, 121-3, 191  
 ἐποίει 24, 229 ἐποίῃτ' (?) 4, 5  
 ἐποίησε 229 cf. 100  
 ἐποικοι 90, 129 -κέω 88 cf. ἐπιφοικία  
 ἐπρησεν 10  
 ἐπωμόται 64, 66  
 ἐπάνιον 197-8  
 ἐς = ἐν 204  
 ἐσάγω 88-9, 149, 212 -γαγείς 148-51  
 ἐσέσθων 214, 216  
 ἐσστα 60, 62  
 ἐσφέρει 106, 149, 191, 193 ἐσφορά 106,  
 162  
 εὐεργέτης 202, 207, 212, 221-2, 224  
 εὐθυναί 83, 85, 105  
 εὐθυνόσθω(ν) 164-5, 180-1  
 εὐκλείω 81, 102, 128  
 ἐφείσις 83, 85  
 ἐφέται 214-16  
 ἐχπάμων 31, 34  
  
 Φασ(σ)τός 64-5  
 Φεφαδηκότα 32, 36  
 φέτας 8  
 Φιδιώγενος 64  
 Φοικέω, -κητάς, -κάτας 32  
 φράτρα, φρήτα See φήτρα  
  
 ζευγίται 88  
  
 ἤλασε 6, 7  
 ἡλιαία 149, 151, 223 ἡ. τῶν θεσμοθε-  
 τῶν 83, 85 -ασταί 149, 222-3  
 ἡρεῖ 1, 3  
 ἡραις 24

# 254 INDEX III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

θάλαττα (pond) 116-17

θέβμων 32

θεσμοθέτης 83, 85, 91

θεσμός 214-15

θεωρικών 206

θῆτες 88

τ 60

ἱερὰ ἀγορά 37, 39 ἱ. χρήματα 105, 108

cf. ταμίαι

ἱεράομαι 79

ἱέρα 79, 178

ἱερίον 46, 180, 183

ἱερεὺς 105 ἱαρεὺς 60

ἱεροποιός 46, 105, 179-80, 182, 203, 205

ἱεροφάντης 180, 183

ἱμάτιον 199, 200

ἱππεὺς 176 ἵπποι 202-3

ἱστοτελεῖς, -λεια 86

ἱστία 31

καθαλείοιτα, -λήμενοι 8

καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι 83, 86

κάναστρον, -γανυστρον 199, 200

καρπός 12, 179-81

καρτερός 37, 40

κατὰ φόος 32, 35

καταδίκη, -κάτω 58, 69

κατικόμενον 32, 35

κείσεται χάρις 12, 13

κῆ = καί ἐκ 31, 33

κῆραν 69, 72

κῆρυξ 57, 148, 150-2, 164, 180, 208

κῆρυξ 229 καρῦραι 32

κιζάλλης, -λεῦν 28, 30

κλήρος 89, 136, 191 -ρουῦχος 18, 135-6

κλητήρ 150

κοινᾶνες 31

κοίτη 199, 200

κόσμος, -μῖν 60, 62, 69, 70, 72

κύαμος, -μεῦα 46

κυβερνήτης 193

κύρις 2, 215

κωλακρέται 57, 149-50, 152, 178-9, 181

-τέω 178-9

κωπεῖς 222, 224

λαγαῖον 69, 72

λατρεῖόμενον 8

ληστής, ληΐζομαι 28, 30

λιποτελέω 31

λογισταί 49, 52, 105, 109, 137, 139, 141, 144

λόγον διδόναι 105-6, 168, 171, 195

λόχος 133-4

μαντεία 179-80 μάντις 42

ματάρα 4, 5

μελεν 1, 3

μετά 13-15

μεταφοικέω 64 μέτοικος 35, 65-6, 197

μετοίκιον 86

μισθός 13, 113, 150, 175, 192 δικαστι-

κός μ. 179, 206 ἐκκλησιαστικός μ.

206 μισθός 13, 116, 192 μίσθωμα

112 μίσθωσις 116 μισθοφορέω 193

μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου 49, 52, 114, 173

μνήμων, -μνεύω 37-40

μωλίω 69, 70, 72

ναεῖν 69, 72

ναύαρχος 229-30

ναυπηγοί 222

νεωκόροι 210-11

νεωποιός 37, 39

νεώριον 105, 131, 193-4 -ροί 232-3

νομοθέται 149, 151 -της 215

νόμος 32, 37, 46, 149, 214, 232 νόμος,

νόμα 31-2

ξένια 57, 135, 208, 218, 221, 234

-νικός 64, 140, 164 ξήνια 60

ξενοδίκαι 64, 66, 114

ξένος 31, 33, 64, 66, 83, 86 ξ. ἐπιδη-

μῶν 66

ξύλα 222

ξύλλεσθαι 60-1

ξυνόν 28-30

ξύν and compounds. See σύν

ῥημος 83, 167, 217 -ρεία 217

ῥοπισθόδομος 105-6, 138

ῥοπιταγωγοί νῆες 195

ῥοπι 60-1

ῥοπι 31, 33

ῥορίζω 106, 116, 181, 184 -ζομαι 130

ῥοριστής 184

ῥορκια 1, 87

ῥορκος 31-2, 37, 46, 57, 64, 78, 82-5,

125, 127, 150, 164, 166-7, 214, 232

-κός 37, 82-3, 148

ῥορκωμῶται 64, 66 ῥορκωταί 57, 82-4,

148, 151

ῥοσια 31, 33 ῥοσία 33 ῥοσιον 105

ῥοστρακίζω 18 -κοφορία 18, 92-3

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων 15-16, 87, 128

πάλη, παλῆν 227-8

παματοφαγεῖσθαι 32

πανοπλία 88, 150

παρ = περί 8

πάρεδρος 185-9, 203, 205, 225

Παρθενῶν 168 cf. 100, 108, 112-13,

115-16, 170-2, 196

πατάρα 5, 32

πειθαρχέω 12

πελανός 180, 183

πελταστής 191, 193

πεντορκία 64



# INDEX III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES 255

περίπολοι 206, 212 -λιον 28, 30 -λέω 193  
 πιατες 32, 35-6  
 πλήθα 32, 36 πλήθος 47 πληθός 64  
 πόλεις ἅς οἱ ἰδῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον  
 φέρειν 54, 124  
 πόλεις αὐταὶ (φόρον) ταξάμεναι 54, 124  
 πολέμαρχος 16, 58, 148, 151  
 πόλις (Acropolis) 88, 105-6, 135, 149,  
 181, 208, 212, 217, 219, 221, 232  
 πολιτεία (citizenship) 232 (constitu-  
 tion) 217, 232 -τεύομαι 231  
 πρεσβεία 57, 82-8, 130, 135, 208, 232  
 -βεις 57, 125, 127, 130, 151, 208,  
 213, 231-2 -γεία 60  
 Πρόνεως 195 cf. 108, 170, 196  
 πρόξενος 64, 66, 201, 218, 221-4 -ρία  
 218 -νέω 64  
 Προπύλαια 105-6 cf. 87, 110, 114-16  
 προστάτας 32, 35-6  
 πρυτανεία 79, 88, 118, 131, 137-40,  
 149, 181, 186-8, 203-4, 209, 214,  
 225 -νεύουσα 118, 137-40, 149,  
 186-8, 202-4, 224 ἐπρυτάνευε(ν)  
 passim πρυτανεύω 149-50  
 πρυτανεῖον 3, 57, 135, 208, 218, 221,  
 232  
 πρυτάνεις 57, 67, 80, 105, 149-50, 193,  
 212, 218  
 πτολίπορθος 227-8  
 πωληταὶ 57, 79, 149, 181, 198, 212, 214  
 πωνίω 69, 72  
 ροινῶνες 31  
 ῥήτρα 1, 2, 3 ῥήτρη, Φρήτα 3 Φράτρα  
 3, 8  
 ῥύσιον, -άζω 62 ῥύτιον 60, 62  
 σκαπανεῖω 12  
 σπός 180, 182  
 σίτος 28, 130, 176, 183, 185, 202-3,  
 205 -τησις 202  
 σπονδαὶ 175-6  
 στήλαι 63, 130-1  
 στοδ βασιλεία, -λεις 214-15  
 στρατιγῆς 40, 43 -γία 43  
 στρατηγός (Athenian) 42-3, 57, 82-5,  
 92, 99, 100, 107, 113, 118, 181, 185,  
 137-9, 145, 150, 152, 164, 166-7,  
 175, 186-90, 192-5, 203-4, 206,  
 208, 213, 217, 219, 221-2, 232  
 (Bottiaean) 166 (Samian) 231  
 συγγράφαι 88, 116, 181 συγγ- 181  
 συγγραφεύς, -εῖς 179, 181-4 συγγ- 215  
 συγγ- 233 συγγράφω 79, 179, 181  
 σύλη 10 σύλον 64 συλάω 64-6  
 σύλλογος 37-8  
 ξύμβολα 59  
 ξυμβολαὶ 58-9, 135-6, 217-18 συμ-  
 βολαὶ 232 συνβολά 64, 66

ξυμβόλαιον 58-9, 217-18  
 ξυμμαχία 125, 127, 166 ξυμ- 78  
 σύμ- 43, 56 συμ- 8  
 ξύμμαχος 88, 125, 127, 130, 166,  
 175-6, 180, 192 ξύν- 47 σύμ-  
 204, 207-8, 217 ξυμμαχικός 114  
 ξυμαχίς 47  
 σύμπαντες 37-8  
 συμπλέονες 60-1  
 συμπτύττειν, συμπτ- 231-3  
 συνανφότεροι 60-1  
 ξυνάρχοντες 103, 118, 137-40, 168, 172,  
 186-8, 195, 202 συν- 185-6, 201-4,  
 210-11, 225  
 συνέαν 8  
 ξυνέδριον 78  
 ξυθῆκαι 167, 217, 219-20 συν- 217,  
 232 ξυντίθεμαι 78, 166, 217, 219  
 ξυντελείς 52, 121 -λεια 52, 162  
 τάδε λέγει 12, 13  
 ταῖ, τοῖ 8  
 τάκται 148-52 τάξις 130, 148-50, 166  
 ταμίαι 99, 100, 103, 105-8, 110-12,  
 114, 137-8, 144, 168, 172, 193, 195  
 τ. Ἐφαιστικῶ ἀπὸ Λαυρέϊον 114-15  
 τ. τῆς θεοῦ 186, 189 cf. 108, 112 τ.  
 τριηροποικῶν 224 τ. τῶν ἄλλων  
 θεῶν 108, 110, 139-40, 142, 170, 233  
 τ. (τῶν) ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας  
 103, 118, 170, 172, 185-7, 189,  
 201-2, 233 τ. τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας  
 105-6 ταμεύω 105-6, 112, 114  
 τειχοποιοί 114  
 τέλεσι 58-9, 83, 88, 135-6, 208, 210,  
 217, 219, 232  
 τελεστά 8  
 τέλος 31 τελέω 13, 83, 86, 130  
 τέμενος 11, 25, 60, 88-9, 110, 226  
 -νίζω 88  
 τεταγμένον 130, 132 cf. 193  
 τετράκοντα 4, 5  
 τιμουχέω 28, 30  
 τόκος 137-41  
 τοξότης 42-3, 47-8, 176, 191, 193  
 τριάκοντα, οἱ 173 cf. 49  
 τριήραρχος 186, 188, 192-3, 204, 217,  
 232  
 τριηροποιοί 114, 192, 222-4 -ποικά 224  
 τρίτρα 69, 72  
 τρίττοια βόαρχος 180, 183  
 τύραννος 47 -νίς 18, 30  
 ὑποδύντες 4, 5  
 φάλυρα 60-1  
 φεύγω 37, 47, 67, 214, 217 φυγή 47,  
 67, 82-3  
 φάλα 43-4

## 256 INDEX III. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

φοινικῆα 28, 30

φόρος 214

φόρος 12, 49, 54, 83, 94-6, 98-9, 120-4,

129-30, 136, 145, 148-50, 152-3,

155-6, 158, 160, 162, 191 ξυμμα-

χικὸς φ. 114 φέρω 60, 79, 130, 149

φάρω 31

φρατρία 211 φράτερες 214

φρίν = πρίν 31, 34

φρουρά, -ραρχος, -ριον, -ροί 46-8 -ρέω

193

φυλή 1, 47, 81, 88, 191, 211, 232-3

φυλοβασίλεις 216

χαμεῦνα (-νη) παράκολλος 199, 200

χρησμοί 83 -μολόγος 85 -μυδός 85

ψάφισις 32

ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς 201 ψηφισα-

μένου τοῦ δήμου 186-9, 201-2

ὦ = ὅθεν 32, 34

## APPENDIX OF ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

No attempt is here made to present a complete bibliography for the years 1933-46 of the inscriptions contained in this *Selection*; any such attempt, even if successful, would hamper rather than help the student, for whom the work is primarily intended. I content myself, therefore, with registering the titles (with an occasional brief indication of the content) of books and articles which may be of interest and value to him, including a few which were published before 1933 but were accidentally omitted in the first issue of the book.

Figures in Clarendon type (e.g. 17) refer to the numbers borne by the inscriptions comprised in this *Selection*.

In addition to the abbreviations listed on pp. xiv ff., the following are used below :

A.T.L. = B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, Harvard U. P., 1939.

Austin, *Stoichedon* = R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938.

Binneboessel = R. Binneboessel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Kaldenkirchen, 1932.

I.I.A. = J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin, 1935.

Inscr. Cret. = *Inscriptiones Creticae*, Rome, 1935- .

Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet* = U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1934.

Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen* = U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, Stuttgart, 1936.

Nesselhauf = H. Nesselhauf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der delisch-attischen Symmachie* (*Klio*, Beiheft 30), Leipzig, 1933.

R.E.A. = *Revue des Études Anciennes*.

Svoronos, *Ath. Nat.* = J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens, 1908-37.

No. 1. *D.G.E.* 687, *G.D.I.* iv, pp. 873 ff. Cf. M. Guarducci, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia*, vii. 101 ff. (on ἀγορῆς and κῶπῆς).

No. 2. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐντυπακική*, 82.

No. 3. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 395, J. Sieveking, *Röm. Mitt.* xxxviii/xxxix. 55 ff., F. Poulsen, *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, viii (5). 48 ff., E. Fraenkel, *Z. vergl. Spr.* lxii. 272 f. (proposes ἀγᾶγος in l. 3), H. Pomtow-F. Schober, *R.-E. Suppl.* v. 122 f., G. Daux, *B.C.H.* lxi. 61 ff., G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 78 ff. No. 11, B. A. van Groningen, *Mnemosyne*, xii. 34 ff.

No. 4. Cf. R. Carpenter, *A. J. Phil.* lvi. 294 ff., *S.E.G.* viii. 870+. A. Rowe, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xxxviii. 167 ff.,

discusses three objects now in the Egyptian Museum, the sarcophagus and a libation-bowl of Potasimto and a statuette of Amasis, translating the Egyptian inscriptions engraved on them and dating the expedition of Psammetichus II in 589 B.C.

No. 6. Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 154 f.

No. 7. *D.G.E.* 714. Cf. D. Evangelides, 'Ap $\chi$ . 'E $\phi$ . 1924, 64 n. 1 (who accepts B. Theophranides' reading  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in l. 2), M. Schede, *Abh. Berl.* 1929, 3. 22 (who dates the inscription soon after 500 B.C., following H. Pomtow, *S.I.G.* 20), F. Bilabel, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1934, 133 f. (*J.H.S.* lvii. 149 n. 7), E. Buschor, *Altamische Standbilder*, 40 f. and fig. 143, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 13 ff.

No. 8. *I.I.A.* 10 No. 11 (with phot. pl. 5), A. S. Arvanitopoulos, 'Ενυπαφική, 111 (with phot. fig. 78). Cf. E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvi (4). 12 ff., S. Lauffer, *Ath. Mitt.* lxii. 110, G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.* 1939, 23 ff., W. B. Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 195 ff., M. Guarducci, *Annuario*, N.S. iii/iv. 118 ff. Lauffer and Welter see in ἀνυπότοις γράμμασι (Thuc. vi. 54. 7) a reference to the fine and shallow cutting of the letters; Loewy, less probably, suggests that the inscription was at first only painted, and was not engraved until after Thucydides saw it. Pisistratus' archonship falls in 522-1 B.C., if his name is to be restored in a fragment of an archon-list engraved about 425 B.C., found in the Agora (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, viii. 59 ff. No. 21, *A. J. Arch.* xliii. 303, W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* 197, P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.* xviii (1941), 209 ff., M. Guarducci, *op. cit.* 121 f.); Meritt, however, at first assigned it to 497-6 B.C., and Guarducci dates it shortly before 514.

No. 9. Cf. H. Swoboda, *R.-E.* viii. 2047.

No. 10. Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.* xlix. 156 ff., *History of Palestine and Syria*, 571 f.

No. 11. *I.I.A.* 10f. No. 12 and pl. 6, A. S. Arvanitopoulos, 'Ενυπαφική, 112 f. (with phot. fig. 79), Austin, *Stoichedon*, 127 and pl. 4, E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, vii. 264 f. (adds a new fragment), A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvii (5). 5 ff., 96 f. (restores  $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\rho\alpha\varsigma$  in l. 1), B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, x. 301 ff. (restores 'Αθελαιος in l. 1). Cf. O. Schulthess, *R.-E.* xi. 817 f., W. Schwahn, *A. J. Phil.* liv. 39 ff., Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, 40, 359 ff., *Untersuchungen*, 87 f., *Klio*, xxxiii. 1 n. 1, M. P. Nilsson, *A. J. Phil.* lix. 386, E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvi (4), 11 (dates in early 5th cent.), A. E. Raubitschek, *Jahresh.* xxxi, Beibl. 40 f., *J.H.S.* ix. 52 (dates in or soon after 488-7), P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.* xviii (1941), 213 ff. No. 2 (suggests  $B[\omicron]\lambda\epsilon[\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma] \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\varsigma$  in l. 12).

No. 12. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, viii. 158 n. 3, adds a new fragment. See also No. 43.

No. 13. A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1934, 111 ff., *I.I.A.* 11 f. No. 17 and pl. 8. For the statue of Nike which crowned the column, see A. E. Raubitschek, *A. J. Arch.* xlv. 53 ff., *Hesperia*, xiv. 367 (cf. R. Hampe, *Die Antike*, xv. 168 ff., *B.C.H.* lxi. 442 f., and references in *J.H.S.* lxii. 59 n. 147). See further E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvi (4), 3 f., ccxvii (2), 32, 96, 101, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, 70, W. B. Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 201, F. Jacoby, *Hesperia*, xiv. 158 n. 8.

No. 14. Cf. C. Tsountas, *Ἑλληνικά*, iii. 5 ff., J. Audiat, *B.C.H.* liv. 296 ff., C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* x (1937), 116 f., E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvi (4), 15 ff. (who dates the original inscription in the 460's at the earliest), P. de La Coste-Messelière, *Rev. Arch.* xix (1942/3), 5 ff.

No. 15. *D.G.E.* p. 384 No. 7 (1), (2), (3) = No. 15 (a), (c), (e); *I.I.A.* 13 f. Nos. 23-6 and pl. 12 = No. 15 (a), (b), (c), (e). For the 500 ostraka brought to light in the Athenian Agora between 1931 and 1940, see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, ii. 460 f., iv. 368 f., v. 39 f., vi. 344 f., vii. 361, viii. 246, x. 2 f., *A. J. Arch.* xxxvi. 391 f., xxxix. 178 f., xlii. 13, xliii. 303, H. A. Thompson, *A. J. Arch.* xxxvii. 295 f., *Hesperia*, Suppl. iv. 32 f., 38, 109, L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, v. 346, W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. v. 141 ff., 161 ff. A hoard of 190 ostraka prepared for use against Themistocles and one bearing Cimon's name were found on the N. slope of the Acropolis (O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, vii. 228 ff., *A. J. Arch.* xlii. 163 f.; cf. C. Roebuck, *Hesperia*, ix. 247 f.). A considerable number have also been unearthed in the Ceramicus (cf. A. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.* li. 128 f., K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.* 1937, 194 f.); these are collected and edited by W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, iii. Recent finds are summarized in *J.H.S.* lv. 179, lvii. 169, lix. 248, lxii. 56 f. Cf. *I.I.A.* 14 Nos. 27-30 and pl. 12, E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvi (4), 23 f., cexvii (2), 90 f., A. E. Raubitschek, *Jahresh.* xxxi, Beibl. 24 f. A second edition of J. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*, appeared in 1935.

No. 16. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* liii. 76, P. Friedländer, *Stud. It. Fil.* xv. 95, 97 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 65.

No. 17. *D.G.E.* 144 (1). Cf. H. Pomtow-F. Schober, *R.-E.* Suppl. v. 80 f., N. Tosti, *Historia*, vii. 439 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 13.

No. 18. Cf. E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvi (4), 14 f. (who dates the portico after 468), W. B. Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 194 f.

No. 19. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927*, 43, N. Tosti, *Historia*, vii. 433 ff., G. Giannelli, *Atene e Roma*, xxxvi. 103 f., J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.* xxxix. 151, 154, C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* xviii (1941), 151.

No. 20. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* liii. 95 ff. (reading in l. 14  $\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{o}\kappa\omega$  'ἀγορῇ'), P. Friedländer, *Stud. It. Fil.* xv. 120 n. 1.

No. 21. Cf. H. Pomtow, *R.-E.* Suppl. iv. 1204, H. E. Stier, *R.-E.* xix. 1903, E. Loewy, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvi (4), 9, cexvii (2), 98 ff. (dates the monument after 460), A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, viii. 156 f. (dates it c. 470), P. Treves, *Cl. Phil.* xxxvi. 333 f. For Phayllus, see further D. M. Robinson-E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names*, 167 ff. No. 219, W. W. Hyde, *A. J. Phil.* lix. 407 f.

No. 22. *D.G.E.* 144 (2). Cf. L. Pernier, *Ausonia*, ix. 17 f.

No. 23. A. Olivieri, *Atti Napoli*, N. S. xi. 35 ff.

No. 24. Cf. J. G. O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, i. 250 ff.

No. 26. Cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxvii. 351 (who regards  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$  in l. 5 as a genitive).

No. 27. Cf. M. Guarducci, *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* xii. 125 ff.

No. 28. Cf. W. Crognert, *Deutsche Literaturztg.* xlv. 2051 (suggested

restoration of the epigram), *Arch. Anz.* 1932, 183 f. A number of fragments, old and new, are studied by W. Peek in *Kerameikos*, iii, No. 29, but all previous discussions are superseded by B. D. Meritt's edition, *Hesperia*, xiv. 134 ff., of the thirteen identified fragments of the Argive memorial (the distinction between Argive and Cleonean lists must be abandoned).

No. 29. L. I. Highby, *The Erythrae Decree* (*Klio*, Beiheft 36). Cf. R. Meiggs, *Cl. Rev.* li. 24 f., G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxxv. 299 ff., H. Schaefer, *Hermes*, lxxi. 129 ff., B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lviii. 359 ff., W. Kolbe, *Hermes*, lxxiii. 249 ff. (Meritt and Kolbe date the decree in, or immediately before, 450), U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, xxxiii. 10 f., R. Meiggs, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 23 ff., 33 f., R. J. Hopper, *ibid.* 36 f.

No. 30. The contributions made between 1933 and 1940 to the study of the Attic quota-lists are summarized in *J.H.S.* liii. 221, lv. 182 f., lvii. 174, lix. 250, lxii. 57 f., and the several items need not be repeated here. Many of the lists are discussed in Meritt, *A.F.D.* (see Index, p. 191), *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (see Index, p. 134 f.), and *Epigraphica Attica* (see Index, p. 156), as also in Nesselhauf (see Index, p. 144) and in Austin, *Stoichedon* (see Index, p. 127). In 1939 a masterly re-edition of the whole series, with photographs, texts, commentaries, and full bibliographies, appeared in *A.T.L.*, which forms the indispensable basis of all further study of these documents, though the discovery of two new fragments, published by G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.* 1939, 16 ff., and more fully by B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lxii. 1 ff., has necessitated considerable modifications in the assignment of the later lists (see Note I, p. 266, below). Especially important is H. T. Wade-Gery's article in *B.S.A.* xxxiii. 101 ff., 135 f., the results of which are developed by Meritt in *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, 61 ff., and incorporated in *A.T.L.*; this shows that what was regarded as list 7 (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 197 = *S.E.G.* v. 7), occupying the upper portion of the right side of the lapis primus, is composed of two parts, ll. 1-5 being a summation (for which see Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, 65, 96 f.) of the quotas of list 1, and the remainder a continuation of list 2 from the front of the stone. This reduces by one the number of lists engraved on the lapis primus and suggests that one year is entirely missing, probably in consequence of the conclusion of the Peace of Callias. That the missing list is that of the sixth year (449-8 B.C.) is the view of Meritt and Wade-Gery (most fully argued by the latter in *Hesperia*, xiv. 212 ff.), which has been criticized by A. W. Gomme, *Cl. Rev.* liv. 65 ff., and by S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.* xxxvii. 371 ff., xxxviii. 20 ff. (cf. S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxvi. 413 f.). Dow's articles are answered by Meritt in *Cl. Phil.* xxxviii. 223 ff. See also S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxvi. 408 ff., H. Schaefer, *Hermes*, lxxiv. 225 ff., W. Schwahn's article on φόροι in *R.-E.* xx, A. W. Gomme, *Cl. Rev.* liv. 67 ff. (on the rubric πόλεις αὐταὶ ταξάμεναι), P. Roussel, *R.E.A.* lxiii. 304 ff., R. Meiggs, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 27 ff.

No. 31. A. E. Raubitschek (*Hesperia*, xii. 18 n. 29, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. 10 ff.) shows that *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 20: 1 f. are the last lines of this document, which he dates in 458-7, and that the rest of i<sup>2</sup>. 20 is a later decree, assignable to c. 427-6, concluding an alliance with Halicystae. Cf. E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. 553 ff., G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 71 f., F. R. Wüst, *Klio*, xxxii. 86.

No. 32. Cf. P. Haggard, *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lviii, p. xxxif., J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, ii. 496 f., Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, 281, *Klio*, xxxiii. 10, H. Schaefer, *Hermes*, lxxi. 137, 139, A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvii (5), 60 f., R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 39 ff.

No. 33. *Inscr. Cret.* I. viii. 4 (pp. 56 ff.)+. Cf. E. Kirsten, *Die Insel Kreta im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert*, 16 f., W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 28, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 67, U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, xxxiv. 72 ff. For the treaty mentioned in the last paragraph of the commentary, see P. Roussel, *R.E.G.* xxviii. 468 f., U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, loc. cit., *Inscr. Cret.* I. xxx. 1+.

No. 34. Cf. W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxx. 400 ff.

No. 35. *D.G.E.* 727. Cf. L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 199 f., *S.E.G.* i. 434, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 95 f., R. Meiggs, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 26. For the language of the Milesian inscriptions, see B. Bondesson, *De sonis et formis titulorum Milesiorum Didymaeorumque*, Lund, 1936.

No. 36. Cf. J. H. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, liv. 269 ff. (*S.E.G.* iii. 780), E. Kirsten, *Die Insel Kreta im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert*, 33 ff., *Die Antike*, xiv. 326 f., M. Guarducci, *Riv. Fil.* lxvi. 264 ff. Kirsten dates the inscription in the late 5th or early 4th century B.C., Guarducci in 480-460. For Fabricius's copy, see *Sitzb. Berl.* 1938, xlviii.

No. 37. Cf. E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. 553, W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, lvii. 439.

No. 38. *A.T.L.* 133, 175 ff. (where this list is dated 448-7). Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.* 1909, 46 f., Nesselhauf, 16, 18 f., 26, 105, H. T. Wade-Gery, *Hesperia*, xiv. 226 ff. See also addenda to No. 30.

No. 39. Cf. Nesselhauf, 7 f.

No. 40. Roberts-Gardner, 4, A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφική*, 62 f., R. Schlaifer, *Harvard Studies*, li. 257 ff., B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, x. 307 ff., W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. v. 159 and n. 337. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* li. 78 n. 80, C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* xv (1940), 257 f., and addenda to No. 73.

No. 42. Roberts-Gardner, 7, *D.G.E.* p. 385 No. 11. Cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachr.* 1931, 164 ff., Nesselhauf, 134 f., H. Schaefer, *Hermes*, lxxi. 136 ff., *A.T.L.* 579 T 71, R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 37 f., 51 n. 146. For the decree mentioned in l. 42, see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, vi. 317 ff.

No. 43. Cf. Nesselhauf, 139 n. 1, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 64, A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, viii. 158 n. 3, W. B. Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, 190. For the monument and its location, see L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.* xxviii. 77, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, 68, 80, 236 ff., L. Weber, *Phil. Woch.* liii. 331 ff., C. Picard, *R.E.A.* xxxvii. 13 n. 6, G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, v. 504 ff., G. Hafner, *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht*. 52 f., 55, A. E. Raubitschek, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xii. 147.

No. 44. New restorations of ll. 1-5 are offered by A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, cexvii (5), 11 ff., and by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, x. 317 ff. Cf. Nesselhauf, 41 n. 1, 130 ff., V. Ehrenberg, *Eunomia*, i. 22 f., F. Hampl, *Klio*, xxxii. 34 ff.

No. 45. Nos. 1, 15, 16 = *D.G.E.* p. 384 No. 7, 4a, b, c; No. 46 = *I.I.A.*

15 No. 36 and pl. 16. For recent discoveries of ostraka, see addenda to No. 15.

No. 46. *A.T.L.* 138, 182 No. 12. Cf. Nesselhauf, 44 ff., 100 n. 2, and addenda to No. 30.

No. 47. For the chronology of the extant fragments of these accounts, see B. D. Meritt, *A.F.D.* 30 ff., W. B. Dinsmoor, 'Ap $\chi$ . 'E $\phi$ . 1937, 507 ff., *Harvard Studies*, Suppl. i. 158 ff. The cost of the statue is estimated at 750 talents by S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 492. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 62 f. and pl. 8.

No. 48. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* liii. 80, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 65 n. On Epitela (l. 4), see S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 343.

No. 49. *D.G.E.* 58.

No. 50. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *A.F.D.* 42 ff., *A. J. Phil.* lv. 365 f. (a revised restoration), *A. J. Arch.* xxxviii. 69 No. 5 (an additional fragment).

No. 51. *A.T.L.* 160 f. (revised text), 208 f. (full bibliography). Cf. M. Pohlenz, *G.G.A.* xciv. 28 ff., W. Kolbe, *Phil. Woch.* li. 79 f., *Sitzb. Berl.* 1933, 154 ff., A. B. West, *A. J. Arch.* xxxviii. 390 ff., B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lv. 263 ff., C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, xxvii. 337 ff., S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 468 ff., M. A. Levi, *Atti Accad. di Torino*, lvi. 120 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 32.

No. 52. Two further fragments of these accounts are added by B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Arch.* xxxvi. 472 f. The total cost is estimated at 900 talents by S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 492; cf. W. A. Oldfather, *Cl. Journ.* xxxviii. 470 f. (*A. J. Arch.* xlvii. 337), Austin, *Stoichedon*, 61 f., B. Schweitzer, *Jahrb.* liii. 6 ff., Meritt, *A.F.D.* 26.

No. 53. Two further fragments of these accounts are added by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, vii. 79 f. S. Accame estimates at 350 talents the cost of the Propylaea (*Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 492; cf. J. E. Powell, *Cl. Rev.* xli. 250). On l. 16, see M. Giffler, *Rh. Mus.* lxxxix. 62 ff. Cf. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen*, 248 n. 5, 252 n. 6, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 63.

No. 54. Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, 504, U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachr.* 1931, 182 f., W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, 66, A. B. West, *A. J. Arch.* xxxviii. 1 ff., J. Coupry, *B.C.H.* lxi. 365, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, v. 378 ff.

No. 55. Cf. E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, iii. 618 ff., H. M. Hubbell, *Cl. Phil.* xxiv. 217 ff., F. Jacoby, *Gött. Nachr.* 1929, 16 ff., W. Kolbe, *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 28 ff., Meritt, *A.F.D.* 68 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 47. In *B.C.H.* lix. 416 ff. A. Oguse restores ἐσελεῖ[θ]υῖαι in ll. 11/12.

No. 56. *A.T.L.* 147 (revised text), 188 ff. (bibliography and commentary). Cf. W. Kolbe, *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 24 f., 33 ff., Nesselhauf, 56 ff., 97, 108, A. B. West, *Cl. Phil.* xxx. 81, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 56 f., and addenda to No. 30.

No. 57. Cf. E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, iii. 7, 19, 21 f., 616 f., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 50 f. S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 73 ff., rejects the conclusion drawn for this alliance and No. 58 from the fact that the preambles



are engraved in *rasura*, and thinks that the *παλαιὰ ζυμμαχία* of Thuc. iii. 86. 3 dated from 454-3 B.C.

No. 58. Cf. Freeman and Accame, cited in addenda to No. 57, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 39 f. and pl. 6. Silenus (l. 3) died at Athens on this diplomatic mission, and his metrical epitaph has come to light in the Ceramicus (*Arch. Anz.* 1931, 216 f., *R.E.G.* xlv. 214, *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 5520, W. Peek, *Keramikos*, iii, No. 26).

No. 59. A new fragment is added by A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, xii. 19 ff. No. 4, who also discusses (xiii. 352) the date and place of the discovery of the stone. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* liii. 77 f.

No. 60. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 64 n., F. Hampl, *Klio*, xxxii. 38 n. 1.

No. 61. *A.T.L.* 162 f. (text), 209, 212 (bibliography and commentary). Cf. Ziebarth, *Seeraub*, 11, 101 No. 18, Nesselhauf, 82 f., 89, U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, xxxiii. 9. For Phaenippus (l. 2), see A. E. Raubitschek, *R.E.* xix. 1591 No. 2; for the relief at the head of the stone, Svoronos, *Ath. Nat.* 664 No. 428 and pl. ccv, Binneboessel, 3, 26 f. No. 3.

No. 62. *D.G.E.* 13. At the end of the commentary add a reference to F. E. Adcock, *Mélanges Glotz*, 1 ff.

No. 63. *I.G.* xii Suppl. p. 62. Cf. F. Hampl, *Klio*, xxxii. 1 f., R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 45 ff. For the relief, see Binneboessel, 5, 33 f. No. 10.

No. 64. O. Broneer adds a new fragment, *Hesperia*, iv. 158 f. Cf. S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, 9 No. 1a, 10 f. No. 9, 13 No. 27, 16 No. 5, 22 No. 8 a, W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, 99 n. 1, Meritt, *A.F.D.* 128 ff., Nesselhauf, 25 n. 1, U. Kahrstedt, *G.G.A.* cxvii. 48, *Untersuchungen*, 93 ff., B. D. Meritt, *A.J. Phil.* lvi. 320 f., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 59 f., *A.T.L.* 569, H. B. Mayor, *J.H.S.* lix. 54 n. 1, J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J. Phil.* lxvi. 411 ff. (calendar), B. D. Meritt, *Cl. Qu.* xl. 60 ff.

No. 65. *D.G.E.* 65.

No. 66. The decrees and schedule are exhaustively discussed in B. D. Meritt and A. B. West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (Ann Arbor, 1934), where it is shown that there were not three assessment-lists, but one, engraved by different hands or with different chisels, and that the total assessed lay between 1,460 and 1,500 talents. The most recent text and fullest bibliography are those in *A.T.L.* 154 ff., 204 ff. Cf. W. Kolbe, *Phil. Woch.* lii. 1151 ff. (a reply to West's article, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 217 ff.), Nesselhauf, 55 n. 4, 76 n. 1, 102 n. 1, 112 f. n. 3, *Gnomon*, xii. 296 ff., Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen*, 233 n. 1, B. D. Meritt, *A.J. Phil.* lviii. 152 ff., 385 ff., lix. 297 ff., W. Kolbe, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1937, 172 ff., H. T. Wade-Gery, *A.J. Phil.* lix. 129 ff., A. Billheimer, *A.J. Arch.* xlii. 464 ff., S. Dow, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxii. 70 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 50 n., B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica* (references indexed on p. 156), G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 52 ff. Other articles are summarized in *J.H.S.* lvii. 172 f. For the role of Alcibiades in this re-assessment, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, xii. 32 f. See also Note II, p. 266, below.

No. 67. A fragment from Aphytis was edited by D. M. Robinson, *A.J. Phil.* lvi. 149 ff. (cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 99), and one from Cos by M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, ix. 151 ff. (cf. *Aevum*, ix. 254 f., *Riv. Fil.* lxiii.

497); to judge by the script of the latter, the decree was passed soon after 450 B.C. For the document as a whole, see *S.E.G.* iii. 713, *J.H.S.* xlvii. 202, Ziebarth, *Seeraub*, 82, 135 No. 74, J. Johnston, *Hermathena*, xlvii. 148 f., *A. J. Arch.* xxxix. 392, *R.E.G.* xlix. 370, P. F. Hofer, *Schweiz. Num. Rundschau*, xxvi. 195 f., *A.T.L.* 579 T 69 (a useful text), H. Schaefer, *Hermes*, lxxiv. 253 ff. (dates the decree c. 413-12), *I.G.* xii, Suppl. Add. v No. 840 (pp. 215 ff.), W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. v. 153 and n. 316, R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 51 n.

No. 68. A new fragment has been added by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, vii. 80 f. No. 8. Cf. F. Hampl, *Rh. Mus.* lxxxiv. 120 ff. (on the *Borriaioi*), D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus*, ix. 151 f., *A.T.L.* 580 T 74.

No. 70. The second fragment is now in the Louvre; cf. L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, i. 139 No. 92 and pl. xlviii, B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lix. 501.

No. 71. See addenda to No. 30. *A.T.L.* 152, 200 f. (text and full bibliography). On the quota-lists of 422-1 to 415-14, see B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lxii. 1 ff. Cf. Nesselhauf, 76, H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* i. 292 (on Aristoteles of Thorae), Note I, p. 266, below.

No. 72. Cf. F. Hampl, *Die griechischen Staatsverträge*, 2.

No. 73. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφική*, 64, Roberts-Gardner, 4. Cf. B. D. Meritt and G. R. Davidson, *A. J. Phil.* lvi. 71 (where the decree is dated c. 424), A. B. West, *ibid.* 72 ff. (prosopographical confirmation of that date), C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* xv (1940), 257 f., A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, cccxvii (5), 63 f., and addenda to No. 40.

No. 74. Cf. W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii. 268 f., W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 335, 337 f., 341 (dates the decree in 416-15), B. D. Meritt, *A.F.D.* 157, 172, O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, ii. 347, A. Billheimer, *A. J. Arch.* xlii. 471 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 54 n.

No. 75. Cf. W. Kolbe, *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 92 ff., A. B. West, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxi. 220 n., Meritt, *A.F.D.* 159 ff., *A. J. Phil.* lvii. 180 ff. (restores Πανδιονίδος in l. 17), Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen*, 99 n. 1, 125, J. Hatzfeld, *R.E.G.* i. 293 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 47, *A.T.L.* 569. For the restoration ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in l. 73, see Meritt, *Hesperia*, v. 381 f.

No. 76. Cf. *A.T.L.* 580 T 76.

No. 77. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 160 f., Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen*, 125 n. On the date of the expedition, see A. Piganiol, *R.E.G.* i. 1 ff., J. Hatzfeld, *ibid.* 293 ff.; on the mutilation of the Hermae, C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.* x (1937), 263 f.

No. 78. At the close of the commentary add A. C. Johnson, *A. J. Phil.* liii. 392, W. S. Ferguson and W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. Arch.* xxxvii. 52 ff., W. B. Dinsmoor, *Harvard Studies*, Suppl. i. 165 ff., M. Giffler, *Rh. Mus.* lxxxix. 64 ff. (new edition of *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 255 a).

Nos. 79, 80. Many new fragments are added to these sale-lists (including that of Alcibiades' furniture) by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, iii. 47 ff. Nos. 35-7, v. 382 ff. No. 6, vii. 81 f. No. 9, viii. 69 ff. No. 23. Cf. J. Hatzfeld, *R.E.A.* xli. 313 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 60.

No. 81. Cf. Meritt, *A.F.D.* 28, 57, 65, 88, 93, 101 (with facs. pl. i), Austin, *Stoichedon*, 52 f.

No. 82. *D.G.E.* 804. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 92.

No. 83. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Cl. Phil.* xxv. 236 ff. (calendar), W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 17 ff., U. Kahrstedt, *G.G.A.* xcvi. 45 ff., *Untersuchungen*, 99 ff., B. D. Meritt, *A. J. Phil.* lvi. 319, *A.T.L.* 570.

No. 84. On the relief at the head of the stele, see Svoronos, *Ath. Nat.* 663 No. 427 pl. cciv, Binneboessel, 6, 38 ff. No. 15, G. Bakalakis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1936, 35. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *C.A.H.* v. 483 ff. (chronology), *Treasurers of Athena*, 47 (use of Ionic letters), P. Collart, *Philippes*, 110 ff., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 51 ff., A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvii (5), 91 ff., *A.T.L.* 580 T 77.

No. 85. J. Coupry, *B.C.H.* lxi. 366 ff., 375 ff. Cf. V. Groh, *Athenaeum*, x. 148 ff., W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, 74 f., *C.R.A.I.* 1937, 176 ff. A similar record for 408-7 is edited by Coupry, *B.C.H.* lxi. 369 ff.

No. 86. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, 98 n. 1, W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 346 n. 6, Meritt, *A.F.D.* 105 n. 3.

No. 87. Cf. G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Hesiod to Solon*, 44 ff. On *θεμός*, cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, xxxi. 18 f.

No. 88. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 45 n. 1 (dates the treaty in summer, 407), Austin, *Stoichedon*, 51 ff., A. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien*, ccxvii (5), 89, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, x. 327 f., R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 47 f.

No. 89. Add *I.G.* ii<sup>1</sup>. 99. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii. 446 (*S.E.G.* iii. 20), W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 45 n. 1 (dates the treaty in summer, 407).

No. 90. *D.G.E.* p. 386 No. 13, *I.I.A.* 15 No. 39 and pl. 18. Cf. A. Billheimer, *A. J. Arch.* xlii. 459 n. 2, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 101 and pl. 10, *A.T.L.* 580 T 78.

No. 91. Re-edited by B. D. Meritt, *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, 246 ff. (who suggests Alcibiades as mover in l. 4); he answers the criticisms of G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxiii. 205 ff. (who dates the decree in 411-10 B.C.). Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 42 n. 1 (407-6 B.C.).

No. 92. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 28, 31 f., 47 (dates the account in 407-6), Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen*, 99 f., and addenda to No. 83.

No. 93. F. W. König, *Die Stele von Xanthos*, i. 79 ff.

No. 94. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon*, 78.

No. 95. Cf. G. Méautis, *Acropole*, i. 196 ff., J. U. Powell, *Aegyptus*, xiv. 471, Austin, *Stoichedon*, 78, P. Friedländer, *Stud. It. Fil.* xv. 108 ff.

No. 96. *I.I.A.* 15 f. No. 40 and pl. 19. For the relief, see R. Binneboessel, 7, 43 ff. No. 22. Cf. W. Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxviii. 449 ff., S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, ii. 234 ff., U. E. Paoli, *Studi di diritto attico*, 284 f., Austin, *Stoichedon*, 45 f., 53, R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxiii. 47, M. Feyel, *Rev. Phil.* xix. 124 ff.

## NOTE I

*Quota-lists of the Peloponnesian War as revised by  
B. D. Meritt (A. J. Phil. lxii. 1 ff.)*

Assessment Period	Year	I.G. i <sup>2</sup>	S.E.G. v	A.T.L.
VI	432-1	213	23	148 No. 23
	431-0	Lost	—	—
VII	430-29	218	28	149 No. 25
	429-8	216/17, 231	25	150 No. 26
VIII	428-7	214/15, 225	29, 38	151 No. 27
	427-6	222	26	151 No. 28
	426-5			
IX	425-4	Lost	—	—
	424-3		—	—
	423-2		—	—
	422-1		—	—
X	421-0	220	34	152 No. 34 = No. 71
	420-19	219	36	153 No. 35 ll. 1-7(?)
	419-18	Lost	—	—
XI	418-17	223	30	151 No. 33
	417-16	224	37	153 No. 36
	416-15	219	36	153 No. 35 ll. 8-20+
				<i>A. J. Phil.</i> lxii. 5
XII	415-14	221	35	153 No. 37
	414-13	No tribute (Thuc. vii. 28. 4)	—	—
	413-12		—	—
	412-11		—	—
	411-10		—	—
XIII	410-09	Lost	—	—
	409-8		—	—
	408-7		—	—
	407-6		—	—
	406-5		—	—

## NOTE II

*Re-assessments of the Peloponnesian War*

Re-assessment	Year	A.T.L.	Other references
VII	430-29	Lost	—
VIII	428-7	Lost	—
IX	425-4	154 ff. No. A 9	<i>I.G. i<sup>2</sup></i> 63, No. 66
X	421-0	158 No. A 10	<i>I.G. i<sup>2</sup></i> 64 (part)
XI	418-17	Lost	—
XII	414-13	No assessment	—
XIII	410-09	159 No. A 13	<i>Hesperia</i> , v. 386 ff.

PRINTED IN  
GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS  
OXFORD  
BY  
JOHN JOHNSON  
PRINTER  
TO THE  
UNIVERSITY